A HISTORY OF MISSIONS IN INDIA

"I believe, notwithstanding all that the English people have done to benefit that country (India), the missionaries have done more than all other agencies combined."

LORD LAWRENCE.

A HISTORY
OF
MISSIONS IN INDIA

BY

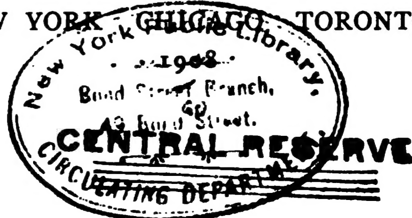
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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

It were a churl's part not to give thanks where such are due, and in sending forth this version of Richter's *Indische Missionsgeschichte*, the translator desires to express sincere gratitude for much labour, helpful counsel, and kindly assistance rendered by Miss E. I. M. Boyd, of Cambridge; by Rev. J. H. Oldham, M.A., of Edinburgh; by Fräulein Gertrud Ludewig, of Jena; and by the genial author himself, Dr. Julius Richter. Considerable erudite help has also been received whilst the book has been going through the press, at the hands of Dr. Datta, of Lahore. In the case of Rev. J. H. Oldham special acknowledgment is due, as the first thirty-seven pages were translated by him. It will be seen to how many sources any excellences that may here be found are traceable; for any faults the undersigned alone is responsible.

It would be presumption for one filling so subordinate a rôle as that of translator, to seek to prefix any formal dedication to his work. Yet if the names of the good, when invoked upon the enterprises of olden time, were held to render successful those about to venture forth to unknown fields, let it be permitted that in connection with this modest enterprise there be associated the names of the indomitable, the brave, the fearless, and the good—the names of my father and my mother.

SYDNEY H. MOORE.

WELLING, *August* 1908.

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HISTORY OF MISSIONS IN INDIA

INTRODUCTION

1. THE LAND

WHEN we speak of India in the following pages we mean the Anglo-Indian Empire, including the more or less dependent vassal states and the insignificant possessions of other European powers, but not as a rule Burma and Ceylon. The ethnographic conditions of Burma are considerably different from those of India, and Ceylon has had a peculiar historical development. Both of these would therefore require to be treated separately.

India, in this narrower sense, is a country enclosed on all sides by clearly marked boundaries. It is bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the north-west by the Sulaiman Mountains, on the east and the west by the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. These boundaries form at the same time the natural defences of India. On the north the mighty range of the Himalayas, "the Abode of Snow," is a local and racial barrier of unique importance. The Sulaiman Mountains on the north-west descend to a lower altitude, but in front of them there stretch the dreary sandy and rock wastes of Baluchistan, impeding the progress of any marauding conqueror. The broad gap between the main range of the Himalayas in the east and the Bay of Bengal is filled with numerous mountain chains stretching north and south which are covered with dense trackless primeval forests. The east coast of India from Balasore in the north to Cape Comorin affords no suitable landing-place, but only flat sandbanks and a pitiless surf, which makes all approach dangerous. And although the west coast has better harbours and offers an inducement to shipping by its peculiar network of lagoons, the so-called "backwaters," a few miles behind the coast there rises along the whole length from north

to south the steep, almost inaccessible chain of the Western Ghats as an obstacle to the invasion of the Deccan. India, thus wonderfully protected by its natural defences, has only two points containing elements of weakness. The less dangerous is in the north-east, where the mighty Brahmaputra forces its way through the mountain wilds of the Eastern Himalayas, and in the torrid alluvial valleys of Upper Assam offers itself as a doorway into the inner highlands of Asia. The more serious weak spot lies in the north-west, between the Himalaya and the Sulaiman ranges, where the Indus and the Kabul rivers have forced a broad passage through the irregular tangle of mountain masses, while in the north the fertile oases of the Amu Daria and Syr Daria secure for even the largest army an easy access from Khorasan and Eastern Turkistan to the gates of India. This is the door of the nations into India through which since the dawn of history hordes of conquerors have sought a path to the treasures of the coveted land.

India thus circumscribed may be compared to a rhomboid—a rhomboid made up of two unequal triangles. This was observed even by the early Greek geographers. Looking from the south, we see before us the peninsula proper of India, the Deccan, or South Land, one of the oldest geological formations of Asia, a raised plateau overhung by irregular hilly peaks and wooded ranges. On the west it slopes sharply down to the coast, on the east it inclines gradually towards the Bay of Bengal, and on the north it merges itself in the mountainous country of the Vindhya and Satpura ranges, which is covered with immense primeval forests and crossed in all directions by irregular mountain spurs. North of this southern triangle there stretches in its immensity the wide alluvial plain, of a later geological formation, which fills the broad space between the northern base of the Vindhya plateau and the southern edge of the Himalayas. It is traversed by the mightiest rivers of India, the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmaputra, the gracious life-giving arteries of that land of heat. The blessings of the Brahmaputra and the Indus are received only in part by India. The upper reaches of the Brahmaputra lie in the mountainous wastes of inland Asia, and only its lower waters fertilise the country. The Indus in its upper courses forces its way with difficulty through the deep valleys of the Himalayas, and in its lower reaches loses itself in the sandy wastes of the wilderness of Sind, so that it is only in the middle of its course that with the help of its five great tributaries it waters the Punjab, "the Land," as its names implies, "of the Five Rivers." The Ganges, on the other hand, early in its course enters the plain of Hindustan, and traverses it with its numerous and

well-filled tributaries from Hardwar at the foot of the Himalayas to its widely ramified delta in Lower Bengal. It is one of the largest and most beneficent streams in the world, the creator of the most fertile districts of India, and the vehicle of its commerce and civilisation. It is not without reason that the grateful dwellers on its banks regard it as the sacred river of India, and celebrate it in numerous songs as the Source of Blessing and Mother of Life. North of the plain of Hindustan India penetrates—sometimes for great distances, sometimes less extensively—into the mountainous wilds of the Himalayas. In Kashmir, Lower Tibet, Kumaon, Garhwal, Sikkim, and other districts, it attains the very heart of these magnificent alpine territories. The mountainous districts in the Himalayas must be regarded not only as the northern boundary, but as a separate third division of India proper.

India is divided by the tropic of Cancer approximately into two equal parts, of which the southern lies in the tropics, and the northern in the sub-tropical zone. The most northerly mountain districts in the Himalayas, Dardistan and Chitral, are in the same latitude as Crete and Malta. The climate of India, in consequence of its southern position, is determined chiefly by the monsoons, or trade winds, which blow with great regularity. From the end of March onwards, when the sun in its northward course is approaching the tropic of Cancer, the vast area of India, through the more direct action of its rays, becomes heated to a greater degree than the surrounding sea. As a result of this excessive heating of the air there occurs an upward atmospheric movement, and there is a barometrical minimum all over India. Then cool winds from the icefields of the South Pole begin to blow across the watery expanse of the Indian Ocean in a north-westerly direction (corresponding to the rotation of the Earth) towards the Equator, and (in accordance with the same law) are diverted on the other side of the Equator in a northerly direction. This current of air, carrying with it mighty and limitless masses of moisture, is irresistibly attracted by the barometrical depression which has taken place in India, and is diverted in a north-easterly direction. It discharges itself from the middle of June onwards as the south-west monsoon over the parched and over-heated areas of India, precipitating its moisture on the mountains in deluges of rain. Meantime the sun has rounded the tropic of Cancer and begun its return journey across the Equator in the direction of the tropic of Capricorn. The area affected by its rays is consequently changed, and its greatest heat is now experienced far south of India over the Indian Ocean. As a result of this a revolution takes place in the currents of air.

The south-west monsoon, which had struck the west coast of India and watered the country right up to the Himalayas, diminishes in force. The parallel current of air and moisture which had fertilised the coasts of Further India now turns in the Bay of Bengal on its backward journey, seeking to reach the new barometrical minimum in the south of the Indian Ocean, and in its course strikes the south-east of India, and especially the Madras Presidency, from October to December, as the north-east monsoon, conveying in this indirect fashion to its hot dried area a portion of its beneficent moisture. While the general current of air is thus directed from north to south, there stream towards India from the north and north-west, from the south-east of Europe and the north-west of Asia, dry cold winds which produce a general cooling and drying of the land area. The main effect of this simple meteorological process repeated with great regularity year by year is to give a hot and a cool season, the former when the sun is north of the Equator, the latter when it is south of it; that is to say, speaking in the most general terms, a summer from April to October and a cool season during our winter. This distinction, which is less marked in South India with regard to both seasons, is essentially modified by the advent of the monsoon. The south-west monsoon occasions in the area affected by it, which is by far the greater part of India, a rainy season from June to September. The north-east monsoon produces in the south-east of India, *i.e.* in the Madras Presidency, a rainy season from the middle of October to January. As a result the seasons are somewhat different in the different parts of India. The usual method of reckoning is to speak of a rainy, a cool, and a hot season.

Like all tropical and sub-tropical countries, India is dependent for its fertility in the first instance upon the rainfall. Where the land is regularly and adequately watered by the monsoon rains it revels in the most luxuriant productivity and is capable of supporting a numerous population. Where the monsoon rains fall sparsely and only at long intervals, the land becomes a wilderness. When they are unexpectedly delayed, drought and famine threaten. The principal monsoon, as we have seen, is that from the south-west. It strikes the south-west coast of India, and since immediately behind this there rises the lofty rampart of the Western Ghats, the low-hanging clouds are compelled to discharge the first fulness of their blessing on the strip of coast which forms the long and narrow coast districts of Travancore, Cochin, Malabar, South Kanara, and the Konkan. These blossom accordingly in an almost inexhaustible productivity, and support an exceedingly dense population. With an annual rainfall on the west coast

of 100 inches, there is a population of 390 to 520 to the square mile.[1] When the rain-clouds of the south-west monsoon have crossed the barrier of the Ghats they are met by no serious obstacle in the broad, gently undulating plateau of the Deccan, and are not compelled to surrender to it much of their moisture. The consequence is that the yearly rainfall sinks to under 30 inches, and consequently what would otherwise be a fruitful country can only maintain a population of from 130 to 260 per square mile. Nothing further exists to impede the course of the monsoon until it encounters a final and insurmountable obstacle in the soaring mountain range of the Himalayas. Here all the remaining moisture is discharged as rain on the broad plains lying at their base, or as snow upon the extensive mountain slopes. This snow, which thaws gradually throughout the whole year, is an unfailing source of productivity to the plains; and since the rain-clouds of the south-west monsoon, when they have skirted the mountains of Further India, discharge their moisture in Bengal and the adjoining regions, we find here again districts with a large rainfall and a corresponding density of population. Since the south-west monsoon strikes the Himalayas along the region opposite the United Provinces, and from there eastwards as far as Assam, the greatest rainfall is found in the eastern districts, and gradually decreases towards the west and north-west. Assam has a yearly rainfall of 90.5 inches, while that of the delta of Bengal is nearly 80 inches: this latter region supports a population of 718 persons to the square mile; while in separate districts, such as North Bihar, it reaches 830 to the square mile. In the United Provinces, while the rainfall is only 47.2 inches, the population maintains an average of 638 to the square mile. In Western Rajputana the rainfall sinks to 11 inches, and in British Baluchistan to 8 inches and less. These districts have consequently only a population that varies from 3 to 104 inhabitants per square mile. The density of population in Bengal and the United Provinces, an area about 2½ times that of England, Scotland, and Wales, is not very much less than in Great Britain (445 to the square mile). Likewise the Madras Presidency, which is by no means universally fertile, and which is more than half as large as the German Empire, is on an average (with 42,500,000 inhabitants) populated half as thickly again as is the Fatherland. We ought to admit that included in these figures are such abnormally populated centres as *e.g.* a "taluq"

[1] The rainfall in Great Britain varies from about 22 inches in the midland counties of England to about 44 inches on the west of Scotland. The average density of the population in England and Wales is nearly 500 per square mile.

(district) in Cochin, which has as many as 2500 inhabitants per square mile (whereas even the industrial districts of Saxony, one of the most thickly populated regions in Europe, can only show 728 per square mile). And although, in spite of this, the whole Empire of India, with an area of 1,766,597 square miles, has only 294,361,056 inhabitants, that is to say on an average about 166 to the square mile, this is due to the fact that the average is reduced by the very extensive but thinly populated territories outside India proper, such as Baluchistan, Chitral, Kashmir, and Burma.

It is strikingly characteristic of this vast teeming population that as a whole it seems to have very little partiality for city life. While in England a third, and in Germany a sixth of the total population are crowded together in a very few cities of over a hundred thousand inhabitants, India has only twenty-nine such cities with an aggregate population of under 7,000,000, or less than a fiftieth of the population. Only a tenth of the population live in towns and villages which have more than 5000 inhabitants, the remaining nine-tenths preferring to be scattered far and wide over the country in innumerable villages. India is the land of villages. Intimately connected with this fact is the other, that by far the greater part of the population is dependent for its support upon agriculture and the pursuits closely related thereto. Fifty-two per cent. of the population are large or small landowners and tenants, while a further twelve per cent. are day or farm labourers.

2. The People

India, including Ceylon, has upwards ot 297,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 283,000,000 are in India proper, over 10,000,000 in Burma, 3,000,000 in Ceylon, and rather less than a million in British Baluchistan. They include the most diverse races and languages. When we attempt to form even the most general conception regarding them we meet with unsolved problems and questions to which the most different answers have been given. The perplexity is increased by the fact that as the result of recent investigation many of the views which hitherto commanded general acceptance have been either exploded or superseded. The whole of the south of India is occupied by a population with long heads and broad noses, of medium height and a dark complexion, which it has been the custom, following the not wholly unimpeachable example of the Sanskrit literature, to call without further explanation Dravidians. To this group, regarded from a linguistic standpoint, there belong

fourteen peoples or tribal stems, with an aggregate of over 56,000,000 persons: the Tamils numbering 16,500,000, the Malayalams 6,000,000, the Telugus nearly 21,000,000, the Kanarese 10,300,000, the Gonds 1,125,000, and the Oraons (who speak Kurukh) 591,886. The less important languages and dialects are Kandh (500,000), Tulu (535,210), Kodagu (Coorgi) (39,191), Malto (spoken by the Pahari in the Rajmahal Hills) (60,777), Brahui (in Baluchistan) (48,589), Toda, Kota, and Malhar. The languages of these peoples are for the most part closely related to one another, in some cases as closely as the different Romance languages in South-Western Europe. They are polysyllabic, agglutinative languages. The suffixes, however, show a tendency to undergo alteration for reasons of euphony, sometimes rejecting consonants and sometimes changing vowel sounds; thus already showing an inclination towards inflection. But although the suffixes occasionally lose their original form, they are still separable from the root, which on its part is unchangeable. Only with reference to things living, and even here but in a restricted degree, is a distinction made between masculine and feminine genders; everything which is not living is neuter. One peculiarity is a double plural in the first person, according as the person addressed is included or excluded. The verb is without a passive mood, but on the other hand there is a separate form of the verb to express negation as distinct from affirmation.

Regarded even as a linguistic group, the Dravidians give rise to great perplexity. What is the actual state of things, for example, with regard to the Brahuis of Baluchistan? They obviously speak a Dravidian language, but they are so widely separated from the other members of the same linguistic family that a connecting link is sought for in vain. An attempt has been made to regard the Brahuis as a proof that the Dravidians in early times entered India from the north-west, the Brahuis being supposed to have settled down midway in the course of the migration. Unfortunately, the observations of anthropologists are decisive against any such supposition. The Brahuis have broad skulls (index 80 to 85), the Dravidians long skulls (index 71 to 76); the Brahuis have extraordinarily long but narrow noses (index 68 to 80), while the Dravidians are characteristically a broad-nosed race (index 74 to 95). The Brahuis as a rule are tall (5 ft. 5 in.), the Dravidians under medium height (5 ft. 1 in. to 5 ft. 4 in.). The Brahuis in their physical characteristics are indistinguishable from the Turko-Iranian type by which they are surrounded. How they obtain their Dravidian language no one can tell. That they are Dravidian is extremely improbable.

It is still more remarkable that alongside of the Dravidians in the north and north-east of the Deccan plateau, and especially in the irregular hilly and wooded region which forms its northern extremity, there is found a second linguistic family which has at once striking resemblances to, and surprising divergences from, the Dravidian languages. These have been called the Munda languages, after one of the chief representatives of the group. Since the year 1866 the misleading term Kolarian has been introduced as an alternative designation, and later still the arbitrary Kherwarian. We shall have to consider more closely the peculiarities and distribution of this group of languages when we come to treat of the history of individual missions at work amongst these peoples. We are here concerned with the question of the relation in which these Munda peoples stand to the Dravidians. In their physical characteristics no definite anthropometrical difference can be detected. On anthropological principles they form with the Dravidians one single racial group. In fact, the Munda races are from an anthropological point of view precisely the most characteristic expression of the Dravidian type. At the same time they are so different in build and in feature that an experienced missionary can distinguish a Munda from an Oraon at the first glance. In customs and character there is a profound difference. Their mythology points to a different origin, and the languages are so different even in their very vowel sounds that a Munda can never learn to pronounce certain Oraon expressions. Whether it be possible to demonstrate any connection between the Munda and Dravidian languages is still an unsolved question. Much can be urged in support of such a relationship, perhaps still more against it. At any rate, the Munda and the Dravidian peoples live side by side with each other in so remarkable a way that one is strongly tempted to indulge in hazardous hypotheses regarding the migrations of both groups.

What then is the relation which these two groups, the Munda and Dravidian, bear to the other great racial and linguistic families of the world? For long an attempt was made to assign the Dravidians to the Turko-Finnish or Turanian racial and linguistic family, principally because they both spoke highly developed agglutinative languages; the Santali language, in its remarkable clearness and lucidity, in its logical consistency and its flexibility, is regarded as closely allied to Turkish, the darling of the philologists. Upon this has been based a theory that a migration of the Munda and Dravidians took place from Central Asia into India. But such a theory finds no support in anthropology. The interior of Central Asia, so far

as we can trace matters back scientifically, has always been inhabited by people with broad skulls, of whom the majority have in addition flat eyes, *i.e.* eyes that appear to slant; and narrow noses largely predominate among them. None of these features are applicable to the Dravidians or Munda, even apart from the fact that the characteristically dark colour of the skin of these peoples would still require explanation. Similarly the relations and affinities which it has been attempted to establish with the Mongolian immigrants of Further India, with the Papuans of Australia and the Alisures of the Philippines, furnish us at any rate for the present with no clear direction. In the meantime we must remain content with the fact that the Munda and Dravidians are the original inhabitants of India, regarding whose immigration absolutely no clear traces can be discovered. All that can be asserted with some degree of probability, in view of the present locations of both peoples, is that the Munda were dispossessed by the Dravidians as they pressed forward towards the north and the north-east.

Besides the Dravidians and the Munda we find in India a widespread group of languages, predominant in the north and west, which all trace their origin to Sanskrit, and through it have striking affinities with the European languages. Scholars have not been able to agree on a common comprehensive name for this linguistic family; perhaps "Indo-Germanic" is the designation in most common use. Representatives of three characteristically different branches of this linguistic family are found in India—the Perso-Iranian branch, the non-Sanskrit branch, and, most important of all, that great and exclusive family of the daughter languages of Sanskrit which for the sake of simplicity we shall call the Indo-Aryan languages. These three are spoken by nearly 220,000,000 people, or three-fourths of the entire inhabitants of the Indian Empire, and they therefore deserve a somewhat more detailed treatment. The modern practice is to divide them into three groups:—

I. THE OUTER GROUP—

In the north-west:	Kashmiri, Kohistani, Lahnda, Sindhi.
In the south:	Marathi (18,250,000).
In the east:	Oriya (9,600,000), Bihari (34,500,000), Bengali (44,600,000), Assamese (1,300,000).

II. THE MIDDLE GROUP—

Eastern Hindi (22,000,000).

III. THE INNER GROUP—

In the west:	Western Hindi (40,750,000), Rajasthani (11,000,000), Gujarati (10,000,000), Panjabi (17,000,000).
In the north:	Western, Central, and Eastern Pahari (with an aggregate of 3,000,000).

When we ask how these Indo-Aryan languages reached India, we are confronted by the interesting problem, debated in former times with so much enthusiasm and partisanship, of the immigrations of the Indo-Germanic peoples. Where was the original home of these peoples in whose hands the control of the world has lain for centuries? At first an attempt was made to locate it in the plateau of Central Asia, then in Scandinavia, or the Baltic Provinces of Russia, then in Southern Russia and in the Steppes between Asia and Europe —or even in the Punjab! The problem need not concern us here. We may content ourselves with the practically uncontested fact that the peoples it is customary to call the Aryans [1] forced their way into the Punjab from the north-west. As to when and how this immigration occurred we know practically nothing, and it is impossible to discuss here the numerous hypotheses of Orientalists on the subject. During the first two-thirds of last century the science of comparative philology, the brilliant discovery of the nineteenth century, dominated the scientific world to such an extent that its real or assumed results were at once made the foundation for historical and ethnographical theories. Owing to the fact that the Indo-Aryan languages prevail universally in North India, predominate in Central India, and extend far down both the east and the west coasts, it became customary to speak of a great Aryan conquest of India, to assume without question that the races speaking Indo-Aryan languages were of Aryan blood, and consequently to distinguish an Aryan North India from a Dravidian South India. In more recent times, however, this view has been fundamentally discredited, although it has not been found possible to substitute for it any other equally simple theory. Two large groups of facts exist side by side which have not yet been satisfactorily related and adjusted to one another—facts linguistic and facts anthropometrical.[2]

To take the former first, recent investigations have shown that the Indo-Aryan languages fall into two groups, of which the "Inner group" comprises the western half of the United Provinces, the Punjab, Rajputana, Gujarat, and the Central Indian States. The scientific world is pretty well agreed that

[1] The explanation of the name is doubtful; the immigrants did not themselves adopt it as a national name, and it owes its origin to modern Orientalists.

[2] In passing we may call attention to a third fact. A great deal has been said about Indo-Aryan culture and the transition from savagery to a relatively higher civilisation which the Aryan immigration effected in India. But we are confronted with the surprising fact that in the north-west of India, precisely in the regions in which the relatively purest Aryans are supposed to dwell, the degree of culture is generally speaking at its lowest, and the number of illiterates highest. These "Aryan Provinces" are with respect to culture and intellectual keenness left far in the shade by the Mongoloid Bengalis and the Dravidian Tamils!

this linguistic region comprises—with a very wide circumference, of course—the Madhyadesa, the famous ancient "Middle Country," the original home of Aryan civilisation. Round about this "Inner" group of languages there stretches in the most singular way, on the west (Kashmiri, Lahnda, Sindhi), on the south (Marathi), and on the east (Bihari, Bengali, Oriya, and Assamese), a large group of closely related languages which nevertheless present markedly distinct forms. The differences of the "Inner" and "Outer" groups of languages are shown especially in the manner of declension and conjugation. In declension the "Inner" languages are at the transition stage, in which the original inflected endings have almost entirely disappeared, and have been replaced by auxiliary words which have not yet become a part of the root, such as the suffixes, ka, ko, se, etc. The "Outer" languages have gone a stage further in linguistic development and have incorporated these suffixes, thus forming new declensions with inflected endings. In the matter of conjugation only two tenses (the present and the future) and three participles (present, past perfect, and future passive) have been retained out of the rich construction of the old Indian verb; all other forms must be made by circumlocutions and auxiliary words, as in German and English. The "Inner" languages, however, are content to employ the simple predicates without any indication of the person, or any change of form. "Mara," for example, means "I, thou, he, she, we, you, or they struck." On the other hand, the "Outer" languages attach enclitic pronouns to the predicates to indicate the doer of an action, as in Latin and Greek. Hence the grammar of the "Inner" languages can be given in a few pages, like that of English, while in the "Outer" languages more or less complicated declensions have to be learned.

What explanation then can be offered of the fact that the "Inner" languages are surrounded by the "Outer" in an almost complete circle? An attempt has been made to solve the problem by distinguishing two main periods of Aryan immigration, and supposing that a considerable time after the first period came to an end, a second Aryan advance took place which pressing into the midst of the earlier settlers established itself in the central portion of the country, and through the naturally expansive power of a superior culture, drove back on all sides the representatives of the previous immigration. Such is the ingenious hypothesis of Dr. Hörnle, which has also obtained the support of the linguistic and anthropological experts of the Census Report for 1901, Dr. Grierson and Sir Herbert Risley.

We enter a different sphere when we turn our attention to

the anthropological facts. These are all the more deserving of careful consideration since in recent years comprehensive investigations and measurements[1] have been undertaken in all parts of India by a large scientific Commission. As a result of these investigations the peoples of India have been divided into five groups.

In the Punjab, Rajputana, and Kashmir there are found peoples surprisingly like one another in essential respects, with long skulls, narrow noses, high stature, a very light-coloured skin, dark eyes, and plentiful hair—in short, somewhat like what the Aryan immigrants are supposed to have been. These are known as the Indo-Aryan type. From an anthropological standpoint it can hardly be questioned that they form a single racial group, in spite of the fact that half of them speak languages belonging to the "Inner" group, and the other half languages of the "Outer" group. The hypotheses which have often been advanced with great confidence, that the Rajputs or the Jats of the Punjab are of Scythian origin, are untenable both on anthropological and linguistic grounds.

Farther east, principally in the plains of the Ganges as far as Bihar, we find dense masses of population in whom there is an obvious intermingling of two different types. They also have long skulls; but their noses vary from medium to broad, their stature is for the most part less than medium, and the colour of their skin varies from light brown to black. The peculiarity is, that the noses are narrower, the height greater, and the skin lighter among the upper classes and castes, while the noses become broader, the height less, and the skin darker the lower we descend in the social scale. The breadth of the nose has indeed been taken as a standard of social position. At the top of the scale are the Bhuinhars, the aristocrats of Hindustan and Bihar (with a nasal index of 73); after them come the Bihar Brahmans (73.2), while quite at the bottom are the Hindustani Chamars (with a nasal index of 86), and the degraded Musahars of Bihar (88.7). This type has been called the Aryo-Dravidian or the Hindustani. How characteristically different it is from the Indo-Aryan type of the Punjab is shown, for example, by the fact that the Hindustani Brahmans, with a skull index almost the same as the despised Churahs of the Punjab, have a much higher percentage of broad noses, a fact which points to an intermingling of Dravidian blood.

When we turn farther to the west, towards Bengal and Orissa, we find broad skulls, noses varying from medium to broad, a stature from medium to short, and a dark skin. It is one of the most distinctly pronounced types in India, and can

[1] See A in Appendix.

be easily recognised, no matter where the Bengali's pre-eminent capacity as a civil servant may have led him. It has been called the Mongolo-Dravidian or Bengali type. The characteristic distinction is found in the broad skull. While the Brahmans of Hindustan have a skull index of 73–74, and the Rajputs of 72.4, the Brahmans of Bengal have an index of 79 and over. As we pass from west to east in Bengal, there occurs gradually a very marked predominance of Mongoloid features, especially with regard to the shape of the skull. So much is this the case that the Kachhi, or Kotch, in Eastern Bengal, whose conversion to Hinduism dates from comparatively late times, have been regarded sometimes as "a Dravidian race," and sometimes as of "decisively Mongoloid" origin, according as the investigator has arrived from the west or from the east. We have already observed with respect to the Hindustani type that the Brahmans are not obviously distinguishable from the mass of the people, and do not even possess the finest features to be found in their type, and we find the same thing to be true in a higher degree of the Bengali Brahmans. It is unquestionable that there is an infusion of Aryan blood in their families, but it is not strong enough to distinguish them as a caste from the average Bengali population as being "pure Aryans" or otherwise exceptional. In spite of the Indo-Aryan languages, from an ethnological standpoint, the west of Bengal is predominantly Dravidian, the east predominantly Mongoloid.

The south of India, comprising a much larger area than that in which the Munda-Dravidian languages are spoken at the present day, and extending well into Hindustan, is occupied by a population which are marked out as another and characteristic type by skulls varying from medium to long, broad noses, a stature varying from less than medium to short, and a dark skin. It is known as the Dravidian. In the higher castes and upper strata of society the distinguishing features are of course partially obliterated; the noses become narrower, the skin lighter, and the figure more slender—clear proofs of an infusion, however slight, of Indo-Aryan blood. But even among these castes there are found so many specifically Dravidian features that it would be a profitless task to try to distinguish them from the rest of the population as later immigrants of one kind or another. Here also it is remarkable that the Brahmans by no means possess the finest features, or those which resemble most closely the Indo-Aryans of the Punjab. With an average height of only 63.8 inches (compared with 68.2 inches among the Rajputs, 74.3 inches among the Jats, and even considerably above 66.3 inches among the degraded Churahs), and average breadth of nose of 76.7 (compared, moreover, with only 75.2

among the despised Churahs of the Punjab, and 70.3 among the Brahmans of Bengal), they are as a whole unmistakably Dravidians. Here too we find a phenomenon which we have found elsewhere in India, that the nose becomes broader, the stature less, and the colour of the skin blacker, in proportion to the lowness of the caste.

Besides these four types one is surprised to find along the west coast of India from Gujarat down to Coorg a fifth anthropological type with broad skulls, having an index, even among the highest castes, the Brahmans, the Coorgs, and the Maratha Kunbis, of 79.7, rising to 92 (compared with 71.7 among the Badagas, 73.6 among the Pariahs, 73.4 among the Cherumer Malayalams of the Dravidian type). While the strikingly broad type of skull might seem to connect the inhabitants of the west coast, and especially of the Maratha country, with the Turko-Iranians of Baluchistan, the former are distinctly smaller, and possess much shorter and more markedly depressed noses. However great, especially among the lower castes, the diffusion of Dravidian blood may be, we have here a type obviously different both from the Indo-Aryan type of North India and the Dravidian type of the South, and history is unable to give any explanation of the phenomenon. Perhaps the most illuminating hypothesis is that we have here the results of a comparatively powerful Scythian immigration, and a consequent intermixture of blood. While the former tendency was to look for traces of the Scythian influence, which is known to have been dominant in the north and north-west of India in the first four centuries of our era, especially among the Jats and the Rajputs of the Punjab, and in the parts of India from which Buddhism sprang, the modern method of classification regards the broad skulls of Western India, and especially the Marathas, as a Scytho-Dravidian type.

Recent anthropological investigations alter the traditional view of the ethnology of India in most essential points. The view which is more and more finding acceptance is that a comparatively pure Indo-Aryan population is to be found only in the Punjab and the regions adjoining it on the north and south. The basal element of the population in the whole of the rest of India is Dravidian, although there is an infusion of Indo-Aryan blood which decreases as we pass from north to south, and is greater in the higher classes than in the lower. Besides this there is in the east, in Bengal, an infusion of Mongolian blood which increases the farther east we go; and along the west coast, especially in the Maratha country and Coorg, an equally strong infusion of Scythian (Mongoloid) blood. At the same time the superiority of the Indo-Aryan element as the

possessor of a higher civilisation was so great that it entirely absorbed the Scythian languages in the west, drove back the Mongolian languages of Eastern Bengal into the forests, superseded the more northerly of the original Dravidian languages, and deprived those of the centre and south of large spheres of influence. The result is that the philological history and the present linguistic situation of India are a very untrustworthy and frequently misleading guide to the ethnological past. Far more doubtful still, generally speaking, are the claims of the Brahmans, the Rajputs, and the remaining "twice born" castes (Dwija) who wear the sacred cord (Janeo), to a more or less pure "Aryan" origin. There was formerly a tendency to accept the view that at least amongst those there were to be found tolerably pure descendants of the Aryans, whom ardent imagination had done so much to glorify. At the present time the tendency is rather to regard these aristocratic classes as belonging for the most part to the rest of the population, and to relegate their "Aryan" traditions and genealogies in a greater or less degree to the region of mythology.

It is necessary to bear in mind this ethnological intermixture when we seek to understand the racial character of the remaining quarter of the population of India, the sixty-two millions of Muhammadans. From about the year 1000 A.D., for a period of five centuries, streams of Muhammadan invaders swept unintermittently into India from the north-west, including successive confused swarms of such different peoples as the Iranian Afghans (Pathans) and Persians, the Turanian Turks and the Mongolian Moghuls. Following upon this Muhammadan invasion, and accompanying it, came upwards of five hundred years of Muhammadan rule, the most brilliant and ruthless alien rule ever exercised in India. It is therefore not to be wondered at that in almost all the large territories of India more or less powerful fragments of a Muhammadan population are to be found, nor that these should have had a most diverse origin. In Kashmir, with a population of 2,150,000, the Muhammadans form 74 per cent. of the population; in the Punjab (14,000,000), 53 per cent., thus more than one-half the entire population; in the two provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal (26,800,000), 30 per cent.; in Bombay (4,500,000), 18 per cent.; in the United Provinces (7,000,000), 14 per cent. of the whole population. Amongst the Muhammadan peoples, the invaders, the Afghans, Persians, Turks, Mongols, etc., and their descendants, universally claim the first place as the representatives of the ruling peoples (just as the Aryans, amongst the Hindus). Their families are the *Ashrāf*, or the élite, as opposed to the *Ajlāf*, or the common people. In a number of provinces,

beneath the latter are the *Arzāl*, the "lowest of all." It is natural that in such a social scale as many families as possible should want to belong to the *Ashrāf*. In Bengal and Orissa (excluding Bihar and the adjoining Mongoloid districts) out of twenty-one million Muhammadans twenty million regard themselves as *Ashrāf*. Anthropological investigations, however, show that in this instance also the claim to foreign descent is in the vast majority of cases without foundation. Only in the most aristocratic families can a strong intermixture of a non-Indian people be recognised. The mass of the population is distinguishable in no respect from its Hindu neighbours. The millions of Muhammadans in India owe their existence in a preponderating degree to the conversion to the faith of Hindu families and races. Especially is this the case in Kashmir, the Punjab, the United Provinces, and Bengal, where the greatest number of Muhammadans are to be found. Whether these conversions were chiefly the result of compulsion such as took place under Aurungzebe and Tipu Sahib, or occurred voluntarily through the adhesion of out-caste races which gained a social advantage through admission into the comparatively respected Muhammadan society, is of no importance in this connection. The significant matter is that the Muhammadans of India are not a people or a nation in the European sense. The only unity which they possess is that which is given to them by a common faith and a common language.

This latter, known as Hindustani or Urdu, is spoken, or at least understood, by the Muhammadans of every part of India. Through them it has become the *lingua franca* of India. In spite of its wide diffusion, it is not a language in the linguistic sense, but only a dialect of Hindi. At the same time it is a dialect of a decidedly peculiar character. When the Moghuls made Delhi their magnificent capital and the Doab of the Upper Ganges (the country between the Ganges and the Jumna) the central territory of their empire, they adopted the then prevalent dialect of Western Hindi as the court and imperial language. Since the members of the reigning dynasty had for the most part received a Persian education, and in their family circle spoke a Persian language interspersed with many Arabic fragments, it soon came to be regarded as a mark of distinction to overload this Hindi dialect with Persian words, just as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the German language was interlarded with French words. This Hindi language adorned with Persian and Arabic words is known as Hindustani or Urdu. The intermixture of the languages varies in degree. There are some writings in this pliable tongue in which almost all the words are of Persian or Arabic origin, and

only the grammar and syntax have remained Hindi. There are other writings in which a purist tendency has rejected almost every Arabic and Persian word, while the syntax and order of words are Persian. The linguistic sense of the population is so strong that it recognises more easily writings of the first than of the other kind. A strongly marked Hindi grammar and syntax with a superfluity of Persian and Arabic words form the distinguishing marks of this unique dialect.

3. Religion and Caste[1]

What were the religious conceptions which the Aryan invaders found existing among the Dravidian inhabitants of India? The importance of this question will be better understood when we remember that in the north as well as in the south of India the vast majority of the population is of Dravidian and not of Aryan origin. We have seen how as regards the languages of North India the influence of the invading Aryan culture made itself so powerfully felt that the Dravidian languages were simply swept out of existence. It is only in a few isolated instances that Dravidian words have been able to maintain themselves in the modern languages of North India. We are absolutely without knowledge regarding the languages that were spoken in the north of India in the pre-Aryan period. The investigator of religions cannot help being captivated by the problem whether in the religious sphere the displacement of the old Dravidians by the religious conceptions of the Aryans was equally complete. The views of scholars on the subject are widely divergent. It is certain that Dravidian religious conceptions and practices are still to be found among the Dravidian peoples of South India, especially among the lower classes of the people, and among the Munda-Dravidian forest and hill tribes west of the Vindhya and Satpura plateaux. These seem to possess two characteristic features. The first is a worship of spirits and demons which consists principally in the propitiating of malicious demi-gods and an effort to avert baneful diseases, etc. This "animistic" tendency, although among the Dravidians it has little to do with the worship of ancestors, finds parallels in the popular religions of China and Japan. It is something entirely different from the soaring pantheism of the Aryans. It reaches its

[1] The general outline of the religious development of India has been given by the author elsewhere (*Nordindische Missionsfahrten*, pp. 257–294). There are also many accounts by others in existence, and it is therefore unnecessary to add yet another to their number. We wish here to make only a few remarks supplementary to the outline alluded to above.

lowest depths in the devil-dances of Malabar, Tinnevelly, and Ceylon — a natural result, since in these districts the upper classes are under the influence of Aryan deities and conceptions, while the lower orders are left to the mercy of rank and wanton superstition. But even where religion has not become so degraded and brutal, for example among the Munda, Santals, and Oraons, it still possesses a gloomy character, and has nothing elevating and comforting to offer. The other characteristic feature which we find among many Dravidians and Munda, who have still preserved their distinguishing peculiarities, and which we must therefore regard as a heritage of the old Dravidian religion, is totemism. Each separate people is divided into a larger or smaller number of clans or family groups which regard some object as their totem or clan emblem and treat it as sacred—for example, the tiger, the snake, the weasel, the sparrow, the tortoise, the mushroom, the betel-nut palm, rice, a certain shape of basket, etc. Of such groups no less than 323 have been counted among the Munda, 46 among the Hos, 73 among the Oraons, 91 among the Santals. Marriage must always take place outside the members of the totem clan. It is sometimes possible to trace this system of blood-relationship even amongst sections of the population which have already become submerged in the turbid mire of the lower Hindu castes, as in Orissa among the Kumhars, who are comparatively high in the gradation of castes, and in Bengal among the Mahilis and Kurmis, who are an offshoot from the Santals. Whether the Siva and snake-worship, the veneration of the male and female sexual organs (Lingam and Yonin), the offering of petitions to sacred trees and stones, are an old Dravidian heritage which has spread widely and become rampant in the lower grades of Hinduism, is a question which can hardly be answered with certainty. Of any religious development among the Dravidians we know nothing.

The most peculiar religious and social product of India is Caste. Unfortunately we know very little that is trustworthy regarding its origin, and clearly from the time of Manu Indian society has been divided into four great groups—the Brahman, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya, and the Sudra. Outside of and below these four classes are the great multitudes of the lower classes, the "out-castes," whom it has become the custom in recent times to call the "Panchama," or fifth rank. Each of these five classes is again split up into numerous subdivisions which are distinguished from one another with the utmost strictness and hermetically sealed. The Census of 1901 reckons 2378 principal castes; all lower castes included, there

must be at least 100,000. The great Scottish missionary, Dr. John Wilson, was engaged in the latter years of his life in writing a monumental work on the castes of India. He got as far in the second volume as page 678, and he had not yet completed the first great division, the Brahmans. Among these latter alone 1886 castes have been counted. Thus the small state of Cochin alone can show 420 castes.

The outstanding features of the caste system are as follows: firstly, those belonging to it may marry only within the limits of their own caste; secondly, they eat only such food as has been prepared by a member of the same caste or—in accordance with carefully prescribed rules—of a recognised higher caste; thirdly, they believe themselves to be polluted through contact with, and sometimes even through the approach of, members of a lower caste, and restore their Levitical purity by means of elaborate ablutions and other ceremonies; fourthly, they are bound by heredity to one occupation and one form of religion, and are expelled from the caste if they change either the one or the other. Nowhere else in the world, not even where different races have come into conflict with one another, has there been developed so extraordinary a social system, controlling so completely and ruthlessly the whole private and public life. A comparison has been made with the conditions prevailing in ancient Egypt or with the divisions into castes introduced into the Eastern Empire by the Emperor Theodosius. Attention has been directed to the race feeling between the whites and the blacks in America. Analogies have been advanced from history and from the conditions of the ancient Persians, Greeks, and Romans. But all these resemblances only make the characteristic differences of the Indian situation stand out in greater relief. It is very remarkable that in the Punjab, which, as we have seen, is comparatively the most purely Aryan district of India, caste is least rigid and shows a surprising flexibility. On the other hand, caste is most consistently observed, and is most inflexible amongst the Tamils, where a racial conflict between Aryans and Dravidians scarcely ever occurred, and where the Aryans never appeared as conquerors. In spite of all scientific investigation, the real inward motive which produced the caste divisions has never been explained. Sir Denzil Ibbetson, to whom we are indebted for one of the best explanations of the caste system,[1] sums up the "steps in the process by which the castes in the Punjab were developed" as follows: firstly, the division into clans, which is peculiar to all early forms of society; secondly, the guilds based on

[1] *Report of the Census of the Punjab*, 1881, pp. 172–341, reproduced in part in the Ethnographic Appendices to vol. i. of the *Census Report for 1901*, p. 234 ff.

hereditary occupation, which belong to the middle period of all society; thirdly, the exaltation of the priestly office to an extent unknown in other countries; fourthly, the exaltation of the Levitical (Brahmanical) blood by laying emphatic stress upon the necessarily hereditary nature of this service; fifthly, the maintenance and support of this principle by invented theories regarding Hindu faith or cosmogony, and equally arbitrary regulations regarding marriage, clean and unclean vocations and foods, and through precepts relating to the conditions and the degree of social intercourse permitted between different castes. Another scholar, Nesfield, states emphatically in his book, *A Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, that "for at least three thousand years there has existed no real difference between the Aryan and the original inhabitants," and that "if a stranger were to go for the first time through the classrooms in the Sanskrit College in Benares he would never dream for a moment that there was a racial difference between these aristocratic Brahman students and the street-sweepers outside." His conviction is that "the trade or occupation, and that alone, is the basis upon which the caste system of India has been built up." Senart, a distinguished French scholar who has written a book entitled *Les Castes dans l'Inde*, seeks to explain the origin of the Indian caste system from the fundamental conceptions regarding society common to the Indo-Germanic peoples, and adduces a series of surprising parallels; but he leaves the real problem unsolved, why it should have been that in India alone these conceptions led to the development of the caste. Sir H. H. Risley, the able and learned Director of the Census of 1901, falls back upon the fact that the primary force in this extraordinary development was the racial conflict between the whites and the blacks. But how it produced this result, and how it is possible for this starting-point to explain even the principal castes or the leading features of the system, he can give no account of.[1] According to the Census of 1901, the Brahman castes numbered 14,893,258 souls. How large is the membership of all the "twice born" castes cannot be stated, because in different parts of India and at different periods different castes have appropriated the Brahmanical cord.

Two examples will show the strength and vitality of the caste spirit even at the present day. As far as its own principles are concerned, the attitude of Muhammadanism towards the caste system is one of rejection, or rather of active hostility. The equality of all men before Allah is one of its leading doctrines. In India, however, Muhammadanism has so little

[1] *General Census Report*, 1901, § 862 ff. p. 549 ff.

been able to escape the prevailing current that at the present day we see Muhammadan society divided into castes to an extent almost as great as that of the Hindus themselves. More than twenty-eight millions claim to be Shekhs, over one million to be Saiads, nearly three millions to be Jolahas, and so on. Their marriage relations are almost as exclusive as those of the Hindus. On the other hand, the caste divisions and customs of the Muhammadans are by no means the same everywhere, and the transgression of them is not regarded as impossible, as is shown by a proverb current in North India: "Last year I was a Johala; to-day I am Shekh; next year, if the prices rise, I shall become a Saiad." Since the extermination of Buddhism in India it has been a standing feature of the teaching of all great reformers that, in opposition to the exclusiveness of caste, they seek and proclaim means by which all men may become partakers of salvation. In the circle of their followers, in their sects, they set aside the limits of caste, or at least mitigate their severity. So long as the religious impulses which emanated from within them have remained fresh, and the fire of enthusiasm has continued to glow, this freedom from caste has been the attractive force which has won disciples. But when the force of the first love has become extinct the tendency to fall back under the spell of the old caste restrictions has universally proved itself to be irresistible. Basappa of Kalyan, in Western India, founded the sect of the Lingaites in the twelfth century on the basis of the gospel that all men were equal who had received the eightfold sacrament which he had appointed. But at the last Census (1901) the Lingaites, in a great petition to the Government, characterised as "a most offensive and mischievous command" the order for them all to be counted as belonging to one and the same caste; "let them be numbered and separately classified as Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Sudras." This example is characteristic to a degree of Indian sentiment and thought.

Modern Hinduism is a Proteus-like mixture of the most diverse elements. And the only method by which any idea of it can be given is to lay the finger on a few of its exceptionally prominent features. In many districts it has succeeded in establishing itself to only a small extent, and is little more than a varnish superadded to the religious conceptions and practices of the ancient inhabitants. This state of affairs is especially striking in Eastern Bengal, in almost the whole of the Madras Presidency, especially in Malabar, South Kanara, Tinnevelly, and also upon the island of Ceylon. In all these places the original demon-worship is clearly apparent, and the process of conversion to Hinduism is only in its early stages.

The whole world of Hinduism is rife with sects. The national spirit of India appears to be inexhaustible in its productivity. Yet it is occupied partly with worthless religious vagaries and monstrosities. Sometimes, however, profoundly spiritual souls have clearly grasped individual truths, and have carried them out to their extreme consequences with the dogged pertinacity which is characteristic of the Indian spirit. In other instances great religions which have poured into India from every quarter have stimulated Indian thinkers to adopt individual principles and to work them up along with Indian elements into a new system. Buddhism was originally an Indian sect which, especially since its transplantation to Central Asia, has attained the importance of a universal religion. Other sects have played a large part at any rate in the history of India, as the Jains, who even at the present day possess a certain importance in Western India, and the Sikhs in the Punjab. A large group of sects have as their sole *raison d'être* the fact that their followers support with passionate partiality the rival claims either of the ancient Vedic gods or of the puranic eccentricities of the Indian pantheon, such as Durga, Krishna, Rama, etc. Such are the Vaishnavites, or worshippers of Vishnu, and the Saivites, or worshippers of Siva, the Saktas, the worshippers of the generative forces, the Sauras, the Smartas, and so on. The struggle between the worshippers of Vishnu and of Siva, the Vaishnavites and Saivites, has, at any rate for South India, and especially the Tamil country, a real importance from the standpoint of comparative religion. The lowest stage of degradation is reached as a rule by the Saktas, whose worship of the generative power resolves itself into nightly orgies and the unrestrained indulgence of licentiousness. Another large group of sects maintains its existence by a protest against a particular excrescence of Hinduism, such as polytheism, idol-worship, etc.; for example, the Kabirpanthis, the disciples of the eccentric Kabir; the Satnamis, the disciples of Ghasi-Das, etc. As regards the United Provinces more particularly, we possess tolerably exact statistics concerning the number of followers belonging to the more important sects in these Provinces. The figures for 1901 are as follows:—

Panchpiria	1,750,000	Ramanandi	1,333,000
Lingaite	1,000,000	Bishnoi	289,000
Nanakshahi	250,000	Kabirpanthi	216,000
Pasupat	88,000	Vallabhacharia	87,000
Satnami	74,000	Radhavallabhi	48,000
Gorakpanthi	32,000	Nimbarak	19,000
Radhaswami	15,000	Sivanaraini	6,600

In the course of our consideration of the history of

individual missions in India we shall meet with several sects which will require more detailed consideration. But we should be launching out on a shoreless ocean if we were to attempt in this place to give the history and the doctrines of even the more important sects. They resemble, taken as a whole, the wild Indian jungle which grows and luxuriates without bourn or bound, but which also withers away and dies. This much, however, one may venture to say, that there is no folly too great, no practice too horrible, not to find in India a company of believers, provided that some man be forthcoming to maintain it in a simulated tone of profound inward conviction.

In orthodox Hinduism two great leading tendencies are to be found side by side with one another and frequently intermingling, the one a coarse materialistic idolatry, and the other a pantheism which spiritualises everything. The strength and extent of the vulgar idolatry is known to every one who has travelled through the towns and villages of India, especially if he has spent some time at the great centres of Hinduism, Benares, Trichinopoly, Chidambaram, Rameswaram, and other places. Here idolatry literally swarms, and often in the most horrible forms; especially widespread is the worship of Siva in the form of the Lingam (Phallus) or of Durga as "Yonin." A lively trade is carried on in idols of all kinds. Hand in hand with this goes the worship which is paid to sacred rivers, and before all others to the Ganges, the holy mother Ganga. Pilgrimages to the holy places along the banks of the Ganges from Hardwar, where its waters enter the plains, to Sagar, the legend-begirt island away down in the Sundarbans, are amongst the religious usages most commonly practised. Sacred places, pools, idols, trees, stones, and especially sacred animals, the cow, the monkey, the snake, etc., and plants (*e.g.* the tulsi plant) play so large a rôle that it is often difficult to know where the lower Fetishism and Shamanism ceases and Hinduism begins. And yet the whole of this active worship which seems to us so profane and distasteful is carried on by millions of worshippers, pilgrims and frequenters of religious festivals (melas), with all the marks of religious feeling and with a zeal that makes these sacred shrines and popular religious festivals in their turn a hotbed for the growth of a bigoted and fanatical Hinduism.

At the same time there is to be found among all classes of society from the highest down to the very Pariahs a current of spiritualistic mysticism, a tendency to pantheistic speculation, which might be expected to deprive the coarser idol-worship of any solid foundation. From early times six schools of philosophy, or Darsanas, have been recognised as orthodox systems. The

Vedanta system especially has through Sankaracharya and other acute dialecticians attained a practically classic position. Its relentlessly consistent monistic system, according to which only the absolute possesses true reality, while the whole world of sense impression is only deceptive appearance and an unending absorption in the absolute the sole aim and goal of humanity, is by no means restricted in its magical influence to a small circle of philosophically educated thinkers. Its doctrines have become part and parcel of Hindu life.[1]

The three principally recognised deities of India are Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, which may be described briefly as the creative, the sustaining, and destructive powers. Brahma, however, has probably never been an object of popular worship, and at the present day is little more than a philosophic abstraction, a god of the Brahmans. In Rajputana, on the banks of the Pushkara Lake, there is pointed out as an object of curiosity the sole temple which has been built in India in honour of Brahma. The popular deities are Vishnu and Siva—Vishnu generally amongst the middle classes of the population, amongst a large number of reforming sects and in the Orissa region; Siva generally among the speculative Brahmans on the one hand, and on the other amongst the large masses of the more sunken population in South India, amongst whom he is worshipped in the popular form of the destroyer, of Lingam, and so on. Neither of these deities could survive the severe competition for popular favour were it not that each receives the powerful support of its own subordinate deities. The worship of Vishnu draws its strength from the teaching of the ten incarnations (Avatar) of the god, of which nine belong to the past, while the tenth has yet to come. By far the most popular of these are Rama and Krishna. As Rama, Vishnu is celebrated in the Ramayana epic, and as this poem is a sort of bible amongst the Hindus, the Rama legend has a simply inexhaustible vitality. The popularity of Rama is exceeded only by that of the Krishna legends, which in moral and poetical contents are incomparably more profound, and which especially in recent times have found an enthusiastic following. The youthful exploits of this shepherd-god, his disgusting amours and his varied adventures, are the favourite narratives of both old and young. That this favourite god should prove so unworthy a pattern has a most injurious effect upon public morals. Apart from certain large temples and famous sacred cities, such as Srirangam near Trichinopoly, Tirupatur and Madhura,

[1] The able Wesleyan missionary, Rev. Henry Haigh of Mysore, has acutely described the average Hindu as half a philosophical hair-splitter and half a materialistic fetish-worshipper (*Wesleyan Missionary Notes*, 1896, p. 86 *et seq.*).

Puri is the principal scene of Vishnu worship. The popularity of Siva is increased in the north by his frightful consort, Kali, the bloodthirsty goddess of death and pestilence, who must be daily propitiated by blood and sacrifices, and in the south, in addition to the foregoing, by his exceptionally popular sons, Ganesa, the elephant-headed, big-bellied god of scholars and merchants, and Subrahmanya, the god of war. It has been supposed that the worship of Siva and his associates is either entirely of Dravidian origin or at least has been largely moulded under the influence of the Dravidian spirit.

To some extent side by side with this rivalry of the two popular deities the religious spirit of India exhibits two leading tendencies, two "ways of salvation." That most congenial to the Vishnu worship is the "way of faith"—Bhakti-Marga—a believing self-surrender to the deity, a brooding meditation accompanied by an unwearying thought-annihilating repetition of his name. At the same time there are not wanting evidences of real and profound religious aspirations which partly recall Christian motives, and are ascribed by many scholars to Christian influences. They are found in their comparatively purest form in the teachings of Chaitanya (1485 to 1527), whose activity is one of the most pleasing phenomena in the history of Indian religions. More proper to the Siva worship is the "way of works"—Karma-Marga—which seeks to obtain merit by mortification, self-castigation, and the infliction of all kinds of self-torture. To gaze fixedly at the blazing sun, until the eyes are completely burnt away, to allow oneself to be scorched in the burning rays of the sun between blazing fires, to stretch out motionless one or both arms in the air for a period of years until all life deserts them, to measure hundreds of miles of lengthy pilgrimages with one's body in the dust, and many other similar practices, are the characteristic forms in which Indian piety manifests itself, and are especially peculiar to Siva worship. Closely connected with this are the ubiquitous and highly esteemed religious beggars, the Yogi and Gosain, the Sannyasi and Bairagi, who have completely renounced the world and are seeking the way to God solely through mortification. These, however, are a supreme example of the way in which extremes meet, and of how, especially in a country where unreality and falsehood occupy so large a place as in India, there is only a step between the most frightful self-torture and the most hollow hypocrisy. By far the majority of those who make an occupation of religion at the present day in India, and who wander from shrine to shrine miserably clad, besmeared from head to foot with ashes and cow-dung, frequently with crippled limbs, are worthless idlers,

immoral vagabonds and inveterate hypocrites, who make up for the privations of their apparently sacred calling by licentious orgies of hemp-smoking and similar indulgences.

It is generally possible to recognise the special caste of a Hindu at the first glance by the marks which every religious person paints upon his forehead each day with white or red ashes and a colour of prescribed composition. The Vaishnavites have two vertical lines which are joined at the bottom by a curve; the Saivites, however, horizontal lines which often extend over the whole forehead, and are even repeated on the breast and upper arm. Divine worship in the Christian sense with an assembled congregation is unknown to Hinduism. The temple priests treat the idols committed to their care very much as children do their dolls among ourselves. They move them to and fro, adorn them on feast-days with gold and jewels, wash them in sacred water, light lamps in front of them, lay food before them, take them out for drives, and so on. Several idols, such as the Minachi of the Madura temple, and the black idol of the Srirangam temple, have at their disposal incalculable treasures of silk and purple vestments, gold and silver, jewels and diamonds. The worship of the faithful consists for the most part only in postures of the body (known as Puja), murmuring of uncomprehended Sanskrit "mantras," and the presentation of flowers, grains of rice, small coins, etc. Prayer in our sense of the word is rare, and in any case does not form part of the regular religious usages.

CHAPTER I

EARLY MISSIONS

1. Before the Landing of the Portuguese

(a) *Earliest Times*

THE history of Indian missions goes back to the earliest period of Church history, possibly as far back as the first century of the Christian era. Unfortunately the data for the centuries before the Reformation are so disconnected and isolated, and so untrustworthy, or consist so much of mere indirect inferences, that it is impossible to write a history of missions during this period. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with tabulating the more important data, and adding a few explanatory comments. The data are of three kinds. Sometimes they are isolated notes in ecclesiastical writers or documents; these as a rule are of exceptional value, but are of too fragmentary a nature to allow of any connected narration. Then there are detailed narratives, it may be patristic apocrypha, or chronicles of the Syrian Christians. These are almost universally devoid of any historical basis. Finally, there are the traces in Indian literature of the influence of Christian ideas. But in regard to these there is great diversity of opinion among scholars regarding the extent of this influence, or even as to whether it existed at all.

The apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* and their continuation, *The Martyrdom of Thomas*, both probably dating from the second half of the third century, recount the missionary labour of the Apostle Thomas in India. The Indian king Gondophares, according to these *Acts*, sent the merchant Abbanes to Jerusalem to find a capable architect for a palace which was to be built. In the slave market at Jerusalem Abbanes met with Jesus, who pointed out Thomas as a capable builder, and sold him to him for £3 of uncoined silver. Abbanes and Thomas thereafter returned to the court of Gondophares. On his arrival Thomas worked all kinds of miracles, and converted

and baptized the king along with many of his subjects. After some time he left the kingdom of Gondophares and travelled to another part of India, where a king, Misdeus, reigned. There he met with a martyr's death. His bones were conveyed to Edessa (Urfah), and there a church was built over his remains.

This story, so improbable in itself, receives unexpected support through numerous discoveries of coins in the mountainous districts of Eastern Iran and the adjoining districts of India. These show not only that in the centuries about the time of the birth of Christ the Greek language and culture were widespread in these regions, but also that King Gondophares, or Undopherres, of Arachosia, was a genuine historical personage. It may therefore be inferred with certainty from the apocryphal narrative that in these border lands of North-West India Christian communities were already in existence at the time of the composition of these apocryphal writings, and that such communities traced their origin to the Apostle Thomas. Elsewhere in the traditions of the early Church the activity of the apostle is located in Parthia, the eastern boundary of which may have extended at that time into modern India.

"About the year 180," says Eusebius in his Church History, "there were still many evangelists who sought to imitate the godly zeal of the apostles, by contributing their share to the extension and upbuilding of the kingdom of God. Among these was Pantænus, who is reputed to have reached the Indians, amongst whom he is stated to have found the Gospel of St. Matthew, which, prior to his arrival, was in the possession of many who had known Christ. To these Bartholomew, one of the apostles, is reported to have preached, and to have left behind him the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew characters, which had been retained up to the time in question. This Pantænus, after many praiseworthy achievements, was at last placed at the head of the school at Alexandria."[1] The importance of this much-discussed statement of Eusebius regarding the missionary labours of Pantænus in India loses weight through the fact that the name India was applied quite indiscriminately, and in its wider sense it included all countries east and south-east of the better known geographical horizon. Many scholars are therefore inclined to restrict the activity of Pantænus to Southern Arabia. On the other hand, it is certain that an exceptionally active trade was carried on at that period between Egypt, the home of Pantænus, and India. Moreover, in a treasury excavated in the neighbourhood of Coimbatore, 135 coins were found belonging to the reign of Augustus, and 378 to that of Tiberius; and in a find of coins at Calicut in the year 1850

[1] See Appendix B.

several hundreds were discovered all dating from a period no later than the reign of the Emperor Nero. There could be no doubt, therefore, that in the time of Pantænus it was easy to reach India from Alexandria. We should have less hesitation in interpreting the statement of Eusebius as applying to India proper if we knew that Jerome's remark possessed any independent authority: "On account of the fame of his superior learning Pantænus was sent to India by Bishop Demetrius (of Alexandria) to preach Christ among the Brahmans and philosophers of that people."[1] The difficulty is to understand what use Indian Christians can have made of a Hebrew copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, and how Bartholomew could have preached to them in this language. This difficulty could be explained only if there existed, as early as the first century, colonies of emigrant Jews on the Malabar coast, and if an active Christian propaganda was carried on among them at that period. Neither of these suppositions obtains the slightest support from other sources. Even the early traditions of the present-day Jews in Cochin do not assign their immigration to a date earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus. And Jews who had left their country under the influence of an event of this character would have been a most unfavourable object for missionary effort.

Among the 318 bishops who took part in the Council of Nicea there was a certain "John, bishop of all Persia and Greater India." We know nothing further regarding either himself or his diocese. About the year 50 A.D. the Emperor Constantine sent an ambassador to the Sabæans or Himyarites (Homeritæ) of South Arabia "to convert them to the true faith. He was anxious, by means of fine presents and winning words, to establish friendly relations with the princes of Saba and to obtain permission for Roman subjects carrying on trade in these regions, to build churches for themselves; and the same right for the natives who had been converted to Christianity." The leader of this embassy was Bishop Theophilus, an Indian, a native of the island of Divus, who as a child had been sent by his countrymen to the Romans as a hostage, and had received a Roman education. He took advantage of his journey as ambassador to revisit his island home. "And thence he journeyed to other parts of India, and did much to improve the Church practices there—*i.e.*, in external customs; for example, the custom of the congregation to remain seated during the reading of the Gospel lessons and similar points in ritual. But with respect to doctrine he found nothing that needed correction, and had only to confirm what had been

[1] See Appendix C.

believed there from the earliest times, namely, that the Son was of a different substance from the Father."[1] Unfortunately scholars hold the most diverse views with regard to Divus, the island home of Theophilus, and its inhabitants, the Divæi; and the whole account is consequently left without foundation. We do not know either in what region or in what circumstances the reforming activities of Theophilus were carried on.

In the year 345 A.D. there landed in Malabar, according to the traditions of Thomas Christians of South India, under the convoy of a Jerusalem merchant, Thomas, a bishop from Edessa, accompanied by presbyters and deacons and by a company of men and women, youths and maidens from Jerusalem, Bagdad, and Nineveh, who had attached themselves to him. They were welcomed with great rejoicings by the Christians of the country, and endowed with important privileges by the ruler of the land, so that their arrival was the beginning of a flourishing epoch in the history of the Malabar Church.[2] That a large emigration took place from Syria and Mesopotamia to Malabar is quite possible. This is the simplest explanation of the ecclesiastical dependence of the Syrian Church upon the patriarchate at Antioch, of the Syrian ecclesiastical language and literature, and generally speaking of the Syro-Nestorian type of the whole ecclesiastical life of the Syrian Christians during the Middle Ages. That such an emigration may have taken place about the year 345 A.D. is rendered more probable by the fact that in the year 343 A.D. there broke out in the Persian Empire a severe persecution of the Christians, lasting for a period of nearly forty years. But there exists no further evidence or certain information regarding this Syrian emigration. The Thomas of Jerusalem who is referred to, known as Thomas Cananaus, the Khan or Knaye Thomas, plays a large part in the traditions of the Syrian Christians. He is supposed to have founded the city, or at least the Christian quarter, of Mahadevapatnam (" City of the Great God," or " of the Great Gods "), the later Kranganur. He is said to have had two families of children, the one by his lawful wife, the other by a Nayar concubine; the former resided south of the river of Kranganur, the latter on the north. The fairer Tekk Baghars, who pride themselves on their Syrian origin, trace their descent from the southern family, the far more numerous, darker Wadakk Baghars from the northern. It is surprising to find that the bishops and the other native clergy from early times have been chosen from the latter. This

[1] See Appendix D.
[2] *Anecdota Syriaca collegit edidit explicuit.* J. P. N. Land, Leyden, 1862.

division of the Syrian Christians is even to-day a striking phenomenon. Whether Thomas of Jerusalem was a historical personage, whether the fact that the Syrian Christians have from early times called themselves "Thomas" Christians, has anything to do with his name, and whether this Thomas has been confused by an ever more luxuriant tradition with the equally mythical exploits of the Apostle Thomas, are questions that cannot be settled with any certainty.[1] In a compendium of the history of Syria translated and published in 1818 by a missionary named Bailey there is found the following characteristic summary of the Syrian tradition: "In the course of time the Nazarites (the Syrian emigrants) began to intermarry with the Christians in Malabar. The most important among them had four thousand houses on the north side of the Kranganur, and the inferior seventy-two on the south side. The northern branch walks in the ways of their father, and the southern in those of their mother. The northern trade in gold, silver, and silk, the southern in wholly different commodities. Thus were the Nazarites, the children of God, who dwelt in Kranganur, divided. Thereafter Thomas of Jerusalem instituted inquiries after the descendants of the two priests ordained by the Apostle Thomas, and appointed along with the bishops and priests one of them as archdeacon and others as leading men, in order that they might watch over the affairs of the Malabar Christians, and maintain justice by protecting the weak and punishing wrong-doers. From that time bishops were regularly sent from Antioch, but the archdeacon and the leading men were taken from the Christians in Malabar."[2] It has been often maintained that in the following centuries the Indian Church was overrun with Manichæism, but no convincing proof has been adduced up to the present time.

About the year 530 the Egyptian merchant Cosmas Indicopleustes made a journey in Indian waters. Unfortunately only the following brief reference to the Christian natives of South India is to be found in his writings. "What I have seen and experienced in the majority of places during my stay I truthfully declare. On the island of Taprobane (*i.e.* Ceylon) in Inner India, where the Indian Ocean is, there is to be found a community of Christians consisting of both clergy and the faithful, but I do not know whether there are any Christians to be found beyond this. Similarly in Male (Malabar, perhaps more particularly Quilon, which was later known by the Arabs as Kullam-male), where pepper grows, and in the place called Caliana (Kalyan, near Bombay), there is also a bishop, who receives imposition of

[1] See Appendix E.
[2] Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen.* Gütersloh, 1877, p. 97.

hands from Persia, etc."[1] This account is surprisingly defective from an eye-witness and so experienced a traveller as Cosmas; but it is sufficient to show that Kalyan, Male, and Ceylon may be regarded as the three chief centres of Christianity in India. It is quite intelligible that the Bishop of Kalyan should at that time have been in ecclesiastical dependence upon Persia, since at the period Persian commerce (at the Persian Gulf) along the west coast of India was extraordinarily active and was on the point of driving that of Rome (by the Red Sea) out of the field. Similarly the Christian community in Ceylon was preponderatingly, if not exclusively, a community of Persian colonists, as is evident from another incidental reference of Cosmas: "The island of Ceylon possesses a Christian community of Persian settlers, a presbyter and a deacon ordained in Persia, and a complete ecclesiastical ministry.[2] But the natives and their kings are of another race and religion."[3]

Half a century later we find in the works of the credulous Bishop Gregory of Tours (died 594 A.D.) the first obscure reference to the great national shrine of the Indian Christians, the sanctuaries of St. Thomas near Madras. Gregory bases his statements on the testimony of a travelling Syrian monk, Theodore, who professed to have been in Milapur (Peacock City); but he does not yet mention the name of this city which afterwards became so famous, and states, moreover, that the remains of the Apostle Thomas had been conveyed to Edessa and buried there. These shrines of St. Thomas at Milapur sprang at once into the light of day by the discovery in 1547 of the so-called "Thomas" Cross on the great hill of St. Thomas. It consists of a fairly large stone on which is carved in relief a cross of an antique shape. Hovering above it is the form of a dove, the outlines of which are somewhat crudely chiselled; round the cross there runs an inscription which for centuries was a puzzle to scholars. It was at length recognised by an English Indologist, Dr. Burnell, as Pehlavi of the sixth or seventh century, and deciphered. But the translation has not attained unanimous acceptation. Dr. Burnell translates: "In punishment by the cross was the suffering of this one who is the true Christ God above and Guide ever pure." On the other hand, another expert, Dr. Haug of Munich, translates: "He that believes in the Messiah and in God in the height and also in the Holy Ghost is in the grace of him who suffered the pain of the cross."[4]

It is obvious that this cross must be the product of a

[1] Gallandius, *Bibl. Græco-latina*, Venice, 1788, xi. bk. iii. p. 449, D.E.
[2] "*καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν λειτουργίαν*."
[3] ἀλλόφυλοι.
[4] Germann, as before, pp. 297, 299.

Christian church in early times, and that this church must have been the centre of a Christian settlement. It is remarkable that an exactly similar cross with precisely the same inscription in the same Pehlavi characters has been found in a church at Cottayam, in North Travancore. And there exists a third similar cross in the same church at Cottayam. This last differs from the two older crosses by having in a second panel above the large cross a smaller one with two peacocks on each side. Only the second part of the Pehlavi inscription is given, while the first part has been replaced by a quotation from Gal. vi. 14 in the Syrian language. This third cross is probably several centuries later than the other two. The statement of Cosmas that the great Christian communities of South India were under Persian influence, and were composed for the most part of Persian colonists, seems to receive confirmation from these Pehlavi inscriptions. It would further seem to be established by the discovery of these crosses that at the period from which they date there was also a centre of Christianity on the Coromandel coast in what was later known as Milapur, and that this community was ecclesiastically and linguistically homogeneous with what later became the Syrian Church on the Malabar coast.

Not very much later in date than the three crosses which have been mentioned are the famous privilege tablets of the Syrian Christians and Cochin Jews. In the year 1549 Mar Jacobus, a venerable bishop of the Thomas Christians, entrusted to the care of the Portuguese Governor of Cochin, Pedro de Sequeira, several metal tablets as the most precious treasure of his people. The Portuguese cared so little about the priceless insignia that within a few decades the tablets were lost and forgotten. They were rediscovered for the first time in the year 1806 by the learned English chaplain, Dr. Claudius Buchanan, with the help of the British Resident, Colonel Macaulay. In the meantime a French scholar, Anquetil du Perron, had in 1757 taken an exact facsimile of two other well-preserved and very ancient copper tablets which were in the possession of the Jewish community in Cochin. But the characters, which were partly ancient Tamil, partly Chaldeo-Pehlavi, partly Sassanian-Pehlavi, and partly Cufic, presented the greatest difficulty in deciphering and translation. While Tychsen, Dr. E. W. West, Dr. Burnell and Dr. Haug interpreted the Pehlavi and Cufic inscriptions, it was Dr. Gundert, a missionary of the Basle Society, who succeeded in deciphering the greater part and the real text on the copper plates. They have been discovered to represent three documents. The first, a copper plate written on both sides in ancient Tamil characters,

dates probably from the second half of the eighth century. In it a certain king, Vira Raghava, conveys to the wholesale merchant, Iravi Korttan of Kranganur, as head of the Christians, and to his children and descendants, the lordship of Manigramam (Pearl City), with all the marks of princely authority, and with the title "Chief Merchant of Kerala" (Malabar). This was no empty distinction, for it expressly included the oversight of the four classes (of foreign merchants?), and feudal rights over the castes of the Wanier (oil-makers), and the five classes of the Kammaler (artisans). Besides this, all customs dues of the ships which entered the Kodungalur (Kranganur) River were to belong to the Lord of Manigramam.[1] The second document consists of five copper plates of much smaller size with seven pages in Tamil-Malayalam, and two pages of signatures in different languages. In these Maruvan Sapir Iso conveys to the community and church at Tarasapali, which had been built by one "Iso Data Virai," a piece of land near the seacoast, along with several families of different heathen castes. The lords of Anjuvannam and Manigramam were appointed joint guardians of this piece of land and of the church thus endowed. The third document, consisting of the two tablets which were discovered in Jewish possession, is probably the oldest of the three, and contains the feudal deed of investiture relating to the princedom of Anjuvannam, drawn up by the Perumal (ruler of Malabar), Bhaskara Ravi Varma, in favour of Joseph Rabban, in terms similar to those of the deed of gift of Iravi Korttan. Although this latter document has been for long in Jewish hands, there is nothing in the text which points to a Jewish owner or feudal lord; and the name of Joseph Rabban often appears among the Syrian Christians in both earlier and later times. Since it is improbable that a Jew should have been appointed as guardian of a Christian church and the land belonging to it, as the Lord of Anjuvannam is according to the second document, it is more likely that this third document also belonged originally to the Christians, and refers to the investiture of a Christian. Without going into further details of these interesting old records,[2] we may call attention to a few of the more important conclusions to be drawn from them. As on the "Thomas" crosses, so here we find not yet Syrian, but Persian names and characters in different styles of writing, Cufic, Chaldeo-Pehlavi, and Sassanian-Pehlavi, such as were in use in the Sassanian Empire (226–640 A.D.). The Christians appear as distinguished merchant princes, who have concentrated in their own hands a large part of the commerce of the Malabar coast

[1] See Appendix F.

[2] For which, cf. Germann, as above, pp. 225–271.

(Kerala). Most important of all, they appear to have been assigned comparatively high rank in the hide-bound caste system of the south coast region, superior to that of the Waniers and Kammalers, and as feudal lords to have been placed on a level with the aristocracy of the country. The relatively high position of the Syrian Christians in Travancore and Cochin up to the present day obviously finds its explanation and basis in these ancient documents.

For the dating of the second document, a deed of gift of church lands, importance must be attached to the very clearly defined tradition of the Thomas Christians, that in the year 823 (or 825) two Chaldean (Persian) priests, Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh, landed in Malabar in the region of Quilon (Kullam); they are reported to have received great privileges from the king, and in particular to have obtained permission to build churches where they chose—the king himself presenting the sites—and to effect the conversion of any whom they could persuade. The founding of the port of Quilon is assigned by tradition to the year 825. Our second document, according to this tradition, has to do with the privileges granted to the priests Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh. This contention possesses considerable probabilities; for Maruvan Sapir Iso is probably identical with this Mar Xabro (Maruvan = Mar; Sapir = sapor, Shapur, Xabro; Iso = Jesus, a distinguishing mark of the man as Christian). The decided preponderance of Persian influences on the one hand and the progressive assimilation of the Christian community to its Indian environment on the other is remarkably confirmed by the form of several other names in the documents. Iravi, related to the Hindu word Ravi = Sun, no longer permits the Persian root-form to appear. The word Tarasapali, so much fought over, seems to be formed from the modern Persian "Tarsa," meaning Christ, and the Tamil word "Pali," meaning place. The name of the recipient in the second document, Iso Data, is identical with the present-day Jesudasen (servant of Jesus).

The period which the discovery of these various more or less contemporary inscriptions reveals to us, and which was obviously one of great importance for the Indian Church, is illuminated by only a very few meagre accounts in the writings of Western authors. The Nestorian Patriarch of Seleucia, Jesu-Jabus of Adiabene (650–660 A.D.), complains in a letter to the Persian Metropolitan Simeon that through his fault the peoples of Great India, which stretches from Persia to Quilon, are without bishops. More than a century earlier, about 538 A.D., the Abyssinians, Himyarites, and Indians, since they could obtain from the Emperor Justinian no bishop congenial to them, who

would repudiate the creed of Chalcedon, are said to have united in consecrating a common bishop through the laying-on, not of hands, but of a copy of the Gospels. If there is anything at all in this mythical account, it is still highly improbable that the churches of South India took part in the proceedings, since at that period all their associations were with Persia, and not with the neighbourhood of the Red Sea. On the other hand, it appears to be certain that in the time of the Caliph Abd al Malik (685–705 A.D.) the Indian churches, by a ruse, got Bishop Theodore to consecrate for them a bishop belonging to the sect of the Phantasiasts in Alexandria; this man, however, never reached India. In the year 760 India seems to have been raised to an independent metropolitan under the Nestorian Patriarch of Seleucia; and in a synodal decree of the patriarch Theodosius (852–858 A.D.) the metropolitans of China, India, and Persia are referred to side by side, although their names are not given. In 841 the Arab merchant Sulaiman wrote an account of his frequent Indian travels. In these he mentions the harbour of Batumah in South India; scholars suppose this name to stand for Beit Tumah, the house of Thomas, refer it to Milapur, and conclude that the sanctity of the shrines of St. Thomas was so little disputed at that period in South India that the much frequented harbour of Milapur took its name from them. In the year 883 the gifted and far-seeing King of England, Alfred the Great, sent the two priests Sighelm and Athelstan to India *via* Rome, to carry the votive offerings which he had promised to St. Thomas during the siege of London. The two ambassadors seem to have returned safely from their long journey, but of their experiences we unfortunately know nothing.

The relations of India with the West, which had never been very extensive, were almost entirely severed in consequence of the Arab conquest, and the rise of the great Muhammadan Empire from 632 A.D. onwards. And similarly the circumstances of the Christians of India, after a short season of prosperity, seem to have changed for the worse. All that we know is based upon the uncertain oral and written traditions which were current among the Thomas Christians as late as the beginning of last century. Whitehouse, a trustworthy authority, in his "*Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*," sums them up as follows: "In the third century a certain sorcerer, Manikka Vasagar, arrived in the Chola country (on the east coast of India), and having deceived and perverted many Christians by his wiles, and sown the seeds of heresy among them, found his way round by land to the Malayalam country. At that time there were many Christians settled in the southern

part of Travancore, between Quilon and Kottar, and in this district he laboured, and by his pretended miracles obtained much the same influence over them that Simon Magus did over the people of Samaria. If any one was taken with serious illness, or there was disease among their cattle, the sorcerer was sent for to breathe over them or mutter his charms and apply his sacred ashes. He taught them to use mantra or cabalistic sentences in verse, and also assured them that if they partook of a mixture composed of the five products of the cow, they would find it a specific for all kinds of sickness, and secure long life to themselves. Eight families were perverted by him, and these so far increased as to form at length a community of ninety-six houses." The more usual form of the tradition is that ninety-six families fell away, and that only eight, the so-called Dhareyaygul, or Confessors, remained true to the Christian faith. In all probability this story refers to the appearance of the Saivite poet and philosopher Manikka Vasagar, who prepared the way for the overthrow of Buddhism and the restoration of Brahmanism, which after a fierce and bloody struggle was carried out in the ninth century. The activity of Manikka Vasagar is variously assigned to a period between 500 and 800 A.D. It would appear that the movement directed against the Buddhists affected the Christian communities as well. Whether Christianity had spread previously to that time along the Coromandel coast outside of Milapur we do not know. In Southern Travancore it was practically rooted out, with the exception of the still surviving remnant of the Dhareyaygul, which is to be met with in the ancient capital Travancore, and the new capital Trivandrum. This unhappy remnant, in consequence of its severance from the main body of Christians, has for centuries been badly neglected, and has become addicted to heathen customs.

With regard to the four centuries which follow, from 850 to 1250, we know absolutely nothing. The Archimandrite Nilos Doxopatrios (1143 A.D.) mentions in a controversial treatise that besides Asia and Anatolia the Patriarch of Antioch had a thorough knowledge of India also, whither he had previously dispatched a Catholicos, ordained by himself, who took his title from Romogyris (Ramagiri, *i.e.* Rama's Mountain?). We know nothing of either Ramogyris or of this Catholicos. In the year 1122 there appeared in Rome a person who professed to be the Indian patriarch John, who told the most incredible tales about the church of St. Thomas in Milapur, and thereby caused great amazement to the credulous Pope and his cardinals. He appears to have been an impostor who had obtained in Syria a confused account of the shrines of the Indian Christians.

(b) *The First Missionaries from Rome*[1]

About the middle of the thirteenth century the veil of darkness which for five hundred years had hidden Eastern Asia from the eyes of Europe was rent asunder. The Emperor of Mongolia, Jhengiz Khan, and his successors built up their mighty empire in the East, and were far-seeing and unprejudiced enough to establish communications with the West, even though these proved, in the long-run, only sporadic. Within the pale of Christendom the two great missionary Orders of the Middle Ages, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, were at that time just in the pristine vigour of their strength, and afforded the Popes fitting messengers for the carrying out of ecclesiastical and political missions in far and unknown lands. In the course of relations with China a certain amount of missionary activity fell to the lot of India, even though the latter country was regarded merely as a kind of half-way house on the journey to the Far East.

The famous traveller, Marco Polo, who travelled in the East from 1270 to 1295, was the first to bring a moderately trustworthy account of India to the ears of Europe. He had been twice to the East Indies, once as commander of several ships belonging to Kubla Khan, and then again as commander of a Chinese fleet escorting a Mongolian princess to Persia. Concerning by far the most important Christian church of the East, the Syrian Church in Malabar, he seems to have heard practically nothing; he merely says concerning it: "In the kingdom of Quilon (Travancore) dwell many Christians and Jews who still retain their own language." Nor does he seem to have himself been in Milapur, but he has heard much about it. The south-eastern portion of India, the Tamil country, is called by him, and by the subsequent Christian writers of the next century, Maabar. From the confusion of this curious name with that of the west coast Malabar, probably arose the custom of calling the Tamils "Malabars" and their language "Malabar," which prevailed during the whole of the eighteenth century, even amongst Protestant missionaries. Polo writes: "In the province of Maabar lies the body of the glorious martyr, St. Thomas the Apostle, who suffered martyrdom there. He rests in a little town which is visited by few merchants because of its insignificant commerce, but a great multitude of Christians and Saracens make pilgrimages thither. . . . The Christians who go there on pilgrimage gather earth from the spot on which he was struck down; it is red in colour, and they carry it thence with every mark of reverence; later on they frequently use it for working miracles, and dissolving it in water, they give it

[1] See Appendix G.

to the sick, whereby many an infirmity is cured. . . . Many miracles are wrought there every day through the agency of the blessed saint. The Christians upon whom devolves the care of the church possess groves of the trees which bear Indian nuts (cocoa-nut palms), and from these they draw their means of subsistence. As tribute they pay one of the royal Brethren one groat per month for every tree." And then he goes on to relate the then universally accepted legend of the martyrdom of Thomas. Clearly the shrines of St. Thomas at Milapur were at that time the most celebrated pilgrim resorts amongst Indian Christians, and in their immediate neighbourhood there still existed a not inconsiderable community of Christians—an oasis in the midst of vast heathen deserts.

Almost contemporary with Marco Polo, the Franciscan, John of Monte Corvino, afterwards Archbishop of Peking-Kambulac, passed thirteen months in South India (1292–1293). Unfortunately we know almost nothing of his work there. He writes: "I came to India and spent thirteen months in that province where the church of the holy Apostle Thomas is; at different places in that province I baptized some hundred persons; my companion was Brother Nicolo de Pistorio of the order of the Preaching Friars."[1] This Dominican, Nicholas of Pistoja, must have died soon after.

About 1310 a third friar, Menentillus, was in India for a short time; in his letters, which have been published in the *Gelehrten Anzeigen der Münchener Akademie* (1855, vol. xl. nos. 21 and 22), we find only one passage of interest to us: "Christians and Jews there are (in the coast districts of India?), but they are few and of no high standing. Christians and all who have Christian names are often persecuted."

A decade later the first organised (?) missionary work on the part of the Roman Catholics was commenced. About the year 1319 a number of Dominicans and Franciscans had left Avignon, then the seat of the Popes, for the Far East, and had preached without any considerable success in all the towns between Tabris and Ormuz. At the latter place they struck a bargain with a ship about to sail for the church of St. Thomas; but owing to the treachery of the sailors a number of the monks found themselves separated from the main body on the small island of Diu. The Dominican Jordan, and the four Franciscans, Thomas of Tolentino, James of Padua, Demetrius of Tiflis, and Peter of Siena, succeeded in crossing to Thana, on the island of Salsette (near the modern Bombay). There they found fifteen Nestorian households, and heard that in Supera (Sefer) and Paroth (Broach) there were also many

[1] See Appendix H.

Christians living, though they were Christians rather in name than in reality, since, owing to their lack of teaching, they did not know what they ought to believe. Jordan records that they knew so little of Christianity that they confused Christ with the Apostle Thomas; furthermore, that in quite recent times the communities had been terribly decimated by the "Saracens," and many churches transformed into mosques. This was the time of the Islamic invasion and conquest of North-West India. Whitehouse, in the book quoted above, states that even in the middle of the nineteenth century a Government official, whilst land-surveying on the west coast of India to the north-west of Bombay, came across one or two isolated colonies of Nestorian Christians near the seacoast, weak in numbers, poor and wholly ignorant. (Cf. also Germann, as above, p. 5, note.) This is the region of the ancient see of Caliana (Kalyan) already mentioned by Cosmas Indicopleustes, in which, therefore, during the seven hundred years that we have heard nothing about them, communities of no inconsiderable size must have preserved at least a nominal Christianity. Jordan at once continued his journey to Supera and Broach in order to inquire into the state of the believers there. In the meantime the four brethren left behind in Thana became involved in disputes with the fanatical Muhammadans concerning the Deity of Christ and the prophetic office of Muhammad, and whilst they were confessing their faith three of them were fallen upon by armed men on Maundy Thursday, and beheaded under a tree (1321). The Kadi thereupon sent men to seize their baggage, and the fourth, Peter, was taken prisoner, and put to death with great torture on Good Friday. Thus did Romish missions in India commence with a martyrdom, and we are fortunate enough to possess two letters in which Jordan gives exact particulars of the facts of the case.

Jordan seems to have remained two years in India after the tragic death of his companions. He boasts of having baptized and brought into the faith close on three hundred. When in another place he gives the number of those baptized as only one hundred and thirty, we may suppose that the rest were Nestorians whom he brought into the fold of Rome. He then returned for a time to Europe. In 1328 he was consecrated Bishop of Quilon by Pope John XXII., obviously with special regard to the Thomas Christians in the south, amongst whom he was to labour on behalf of the Romish Church. Most probably he returned to India in 1330, and worked for some years in the south of the country on the Malabar coast. Unfortunately that is all we know about his labours, save that in a general report of his work he states that with his

companions the Franciscans and Dominicans he had won over to the faith ten thousand schismatics (these must be Thomas Christians) and unbelievers, and that so far as his experience went he had found them ten times better and more loving than European Christians. He says that if he had had from two to three hundred faithful missionaries, less than a year would have been needed to convert over ten thousand people. Because of the limited numbers of his assistants they were unable to visit many districts. On the other hand, the emissaries of Islam speedily overran the entire Orient. They were the greatest foes and persecutors of Christian missionaries, and during his time of office alone had cruelly put to death five Dominicans and four Minorites. Jordan returned afterwards to Europe, but we know neither when nor why.

About the same time, apparently, two other Europeans visited India—Odoric (Odoricus) of Portenau in Friaul (who died in 1331), and the adventurous knight, Sir John Mandeville, who appropriated Odoric's narrative, and gave it a truly fabulous colouring. Odoric went through Thana, visited the sepulchre of the martyrs, opened it and placed the remains in handsome chests in order to convey them to a Franciscan mission station in Upper India. On the journey thither (his destination was probably Seitoon in China) he touched at the Malabar ports of Flandrina (the Muhammadan Fanderina) and Cyncilim (Singlatz or Gincalam, or, according to South Indian tradition, Kranganur). That which interests us more especially is what Odoric and Mandeville have to say of a reliable nature concerning the Christian communities. Christians and Jews apparently live at Flandrina; they are frequently at war; the Christians, however, are always victorious. Furthermore, at Singlatz (Kranganur) and Sarche (Sachee, Barchen, or probably Saimur or Saighar is meant) reside many Jews, faithful Christians, and Mendynantes (mendicant friars?).[1] Both travellers then conduct us in ten days to the kingdom of Mobaron, Marco Polo's Maabar. There, in a church at one of the many towns of those parts, rests the body of St. Thomas. This church is full of idols. Round about it in fifteen houses dwell numbers of Nestorian monks, recreant Christians, and schismatics. Mandeville then proceeds to relate many wonderful things about the grave of St. Thomas; amongst others he makes the remarkable statement that, although as a matter of fact the Syrians had translated St. Thomas' body to Edessa, yet at a later period it had been brought back to India—a proof of the way in which even then the old Christian traditions wrestled with the later Indian one for the mastery.

[1] See Appendix I.

The Papal Nuncio, John of Marignola, on returning from China, spent the years 1348–1350 in India. He arrived in Quilon at Easter, 1348, and passed thirteen months in Malabar. Pepper was the principal article of export, and the Thomas Christians, who enjoyed a monopoly in it, levied an export duty on every pound sent out of the country. From this income they were able, strangely enough, to contribute to the Papal Legate, at first one hundred gold fanams per month, and later one thousand! Marignola lodged at the Latin church of St. George, and he had it decorated with valuable paintings. At his departure he boasted of having brought to completion many glorious projects, but what these were we are unfortunately not told. He travelled southwards by land to Cape Comorin, where he caused a most grotesque rite to be celebrated. On the promontory he erected a marble pillar on top of which, in the presence of innumerable crowds of spectators, he placed a stone cross, anointed it with oil, consecrated and blessed it. From thence he journeyed to the Maldive Islands, where at that time there were also Christians residing. Here too he was received—if he is not drawing the long bow—with remarkable honours by the Princess, or the "far-famed Queen of Sheba," as the fanciful prelate expresses it. Then he visited Ceylon, where he was thrown into durance vile for four months; but in spite of this long detention, and many speculations on the subject of Paradise, Adam's House, and Adam's Peak, he was unable to learn anything concerning the Christian church on the island in preceding centuries. Released from his imprisonment, he travelled as quickly as possible to the Thomas shrines at Milapur, where, however, he remained but four days. He calls Milapur Mirapolis. One of the churches which he found there he believes to have been built by Thomas himself, the others by his orders. Of course he narrates the legend of Thomas being shot to death by an arrow. "Many miracles are wrought upon Christians, Tartars, and heathens, by the blood-besprinkled ground, and also by draughts of water from a certain magic spring"; in fact, Marignola claims to have experienced *in propriâ personâ* one such miracle, but unfortunately he forgets to describe it. The only other thing we are told is that close by the very beautiful church of St. Thomas there lay a small vineyard. Marignola returned to Europe *via* Nineveh, Damascus, and Jerusalem.

With this we come to the end of this short period of Roman Catholic missions; indeed, it is hardly to be termed a missionary period, for of actual missionary work we read absolutely nothing. We may, however, read between the lines

of the few scattered narratives that the Franciscans were even then trying to establish themselves in force amongst the Thomas Christians in the neighbourhood of Quilon—Jordan's 10,000 converts, the "Companions" of this first Roman Catholic Bishop of Quilon, the Latin church of St. George, and so on, all pointing in this same direction.

With 1350 all our information again comes to an end for a century and a half. Roman Catholic missions in China likewise terminate with the fall of the Mongolian dynasty, and the death of the last Archbishop of Peking, William of Prato, in 1370. In 1449 the Venetian renegade, Nicolo de Conti, returned to Rome from his adventurous travels in the East; he related that in Milapur, a town of one thousand hearths, the body of St. Thomas "reposes honourably in a large and beautiful church, close to which dwell a number of Nestorian Christians, who are also found disseminated all over India, just as Jews are found in Europe." That is the only mention of Indian Christianity, and an incomplete one to boot, during the fifteenth century.

For twelve whole centuries slight traces of Christian influence upon India can be detected, but any direct information thereon is unfortunately but as a vanishing echo from afar. Had not the discovery of a sea-route to India brought news of the existence of a large Indian church in Malabar and of very ancient Christian pilgrim shrines at Milapur, we should have been unable out of these scattered notices to construct any idea of the extent of Christian activity during these centuries.

It has been asked whether Christian thought has therefore left no impression upon the Hindu mind, so susceptible to religious influences, and whether traces of some such impression are not to be found in the literature or traditions of India. In the twelfth book of the great Indian epic, the Mahabharata, a "white island" (Svetadvipa) is spoken of, which is said to lie off the northern shores of the Milky Sea, this latter being situated in a northerly direction from Meru, "the Mountain of the Gods"; the inhabitants of this island are white, and glittering as the moonlight. Because of their religious views they are named "ekantinas," or monotheists. The source of true knowledge for them is said to be "devajaga," a sinking of themselves in the contemplation of God. They adore one sole and invisible God, "Narayana," to whom they often softly murmur prayers in the spirit. They are endowed with the most marvellous faith (bhakti). Only in the second age of the world would the men to whom had been communicated the doctrine of an invisible Divine Being take part in the final accomplishment of the work of God.

This is clearly an echo of Christian teaching, which had

somehow come to the knowledge of the sacred singer. Dr. Lorinser, a German Orientalist, claims to be able to point out in the Bhagavad Gita, one of the most beautiful and profound sections of the same Mahabharata, more than a hundred passages which are reminiscent of the New Testament. Other scholars, however, who have tested Lorinser's conjectures are unable to find any direct and certain connection between the two. An attempt has been made to trace strong Christian influence in the whole trend of Vaishnavism during the Middle Ages, emphasising as it does faith (bhakti) and union with God. But these questions are too complicated, and as yet too hypothetical, for us here to give any brief account of them. In this difficult branch of knowledge the region of conjecture has not yet been passed.

2. From the Landing of the Portuguese to the Advent of Protestant Missions

(a) *1498–1542*

In May 1487 the wise and enterprising King of Portugal, João II., dispatched two ambassadors to the East with instructions to reach India by land and to obtain information with regard to a possible sea-route thither. One of these ambassadors, Pedro de Covilhas, took ship from Arabia to Malabar, and soon sent back valuable information for the king his master. Acting on this, Vasco da Gama sailed for India in 1497 at the head of a Portuguese fleet, and landed at Calicut on May 9th, 1498. This journey completed that union of the lands of the West and of India which had been sought for in vain for so many long centuries, and it marks the advent of a new epoch, an epoch of Roman Catholic missions in India. The Portuguese King Manuel I.[1] (1495–1521), and much more his bigoted successor, João III. (1521–1557), deemed it their most sacred duty, together with colonial conquest and exploitation, to plant Christianity —of course of the Romish type—in the newly discovered and inestimably vast regions of the East and of the West. The two missionary Orders, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, composed for purposes of this kind an imposing army of combatants, and many secular clergy joined their ranks. Even on board the second Portuguese fleet for India, which sailed under Cabral in 1500, hosts of monks destined for missionary service were dispatched, and by nearly every ship bound thither after that their numbers were augmented. Goa became at once the centre of an ecclesiastical hierarchy and of a great colonial empire. In 1534 it was raised to the dignity of a bishopric and placed under

[1] See Appendix J.

the charge of Bishop João de Albuquerque (1533–1553; the see was unoccupied from 1553 to 1560). After his death Goa was made an archbishopric in 1557, and the Archbishops Gaspar de Leam Pereira (1560), Vincent da Fonseca (1585), Matthew of Medina (1590), and in an especial degree Alexio de Menezes (1594), endowed it with increasing splendour. Other bases of the Portuguese naval supremacy, such as Ormuz, Mozambique, etc., were also provided with churches and monasteries, secular clergy and monks. In this direction the Franciscans were particularly energetic, building monasteries at Goa, Cochin, Diu, Bassein, Shaul, Salsette, and other places. As the Portuguese encouraged intermarriages between their soldiers and sailors and native women, and baptized their frequently illegitimate offspring without inquiry, and as furthermore they encouraged and rewarded in every possible way the embracing of Christianity by the natives, there soon grew up, especially around Goa, a not inconsiderable church of nominal Christians—whose moral condition it must be admitted was generally deplorable, and who reflected little honour upon the faith they professed. The first forty years of Portuguese Catholic missions are, however, poor in noteworthy events or success, if we except the mysterious baptism of a Rajah of Tanore, on the Malabar coast. The first star of magnitude which arose in the sky of that mission was Francisco Xavier. The day he set foot on Indian soil, May 6th, 1542, is the birthday of Roman Catholic missionary activity in India on a large scale.

(b) *Francisco Xavier*[1]

Francisco Xavier, who was born on April 7th, 1506, in the castle of Xavier, Navarre, came of a noble family and was related on his mother's side to the royal house of Navarre and to the Bourbons. He was gifted with penetrating intelligence and a generous disposition, and received an excellent education in theology and philosophy. An intimate friend of Ignacio Loyola, he assisted him in founding the Order of the Jesuits on September 27th, 1540. The headquarters of Portuguese rule in India was, as we have already said, Goa. The Bishop of Goa, and later the Archbishop, had sent out clergy to the Molucca Islands, to the Malay Peninsula, to Travancore and the Coromandel coast, to Diu on the peninsula of Gujarat, to Ormuz on the Persian Gulf, to Sofala and Mozambique—in short, to all the Portuguese possessions in the Indian seas. On the island of Ceylon there were also a few missionaries. But the zealous King João III. of Portugal was far from satisfied with

[1] See Appendix G.

the progress hitherto made by Christianity. His principal adviser, João Gavan, directed his attention to the founder of the Order of the Jesuits, and induced him to request the services of this entire Order, as far as possible, for Indian mission work. Loyola, however, did not approve of the migration of his whole Order to India: he chose only two men for the purpose, and those two, Simon Rodriguez and Nicolas Bobadilla, precisely the weakest of its members. It was only when obstacles arose in the way of their departure that he allowed Francisco Xavier to replace them and to sail for India.

Beyond all manner of doubt Xavier towered head and shoulders above all other Europeans then dwelling in India or Eastern Asia—merchants and public officials as well as missionaries and priests—both in the thoroughness of his scholarship, the earnestness and fervour of his unquestionable piety, the consuming ardour of his work, his boundless self-denial and self-mortification, and his undissembled love of the truth. But these remarkable qualities, which show Xavier to have been indeed a great man, can only be truly discerned when they are disinterred from the mountain of rubbish in the shape of superstitious legends and imaginary and highly magnified fables, under which his Jesuit biographers and their successors have buried the picture of his life. Happily this is still possible for the seeker after truth, owing to the extensive and indubitably genuine correspondence of Xavier, by means of which we are enabled to obtain a distinct view of his real personality. The miracles his admirers have attributed to him are frequently quite insipid and ridiculous. Amongst the ten miracles set down in the Canon, there occurs, for instance, the following incredible story: "The saint was one day sailing from Amboyna to Baranula, in the Moluccas. During a storm he held his crucifix a few inches below the surface of the water. By some means or other it slipped out of his hand into the sea and was lost. On the following day he reached Baranula, and set out for the town of Tamalo. Before he had gone five hundred paces a crab sprang out of the sea, ran up to Xavier holding the crucifix in its claws, stood quietly before him waiting until he had taken the crucifix, and then went back into the water." Although the same record attributes to him the restoration of three corpses, nevertheless in connection with that case of the three for which there is comparatively the best evidence, one of his biographers places the following words in his mouth: "Holy Jesus! I, wake the dead? Alas! who am I to perform such deeds? They brought a young man to me who was apparently dead, and when I ordered him in the name of Jesus to stand up, he did so. And that appeared to them all to be something wonderful."

In Xavier's letters there is not the slightest mention of any of these legendary miracles; we are therefore fully justified, in the cause of truth, in taking no cognisance of any of them, we are even bound to do so.

This is the more necessary, since it is only after the removal of this artificial veneer of gold that we are able to form any judgment on Xavier's work as a missionary. The first thing that strikes us in connection with that work is its brevity. Xavier landed at Goa in May 1542, and died on December 2nd, 1552, *i.e.* only ten years later, on the island of Sanzian, near Canton. And in this short decade he had by no means worked only in India; his "pioneer" labours in what is now Dutch Further India, in Japan, and in China were carried on during this same period. A simple calculation is enough to show that he can only have passed a comparatively insignificant amount of time in each of these great mission fields. As a matter of fact his longest period of consecutive work in India was about two years and a half (May 1542–December 1544), and if we include two flying visits paid later on (January 1548–April 1549, and January–April 1552), the sum total of his time there comes at the most to no more than four and a half years. This is without question surprisingly little for a man whom it is the custom to call the "Apostle of India"; it makes us a trifle suspicious of this high-sounding title. Our hesitation is increased after a consideration of his missionary methods, concerning which he expresses himself freely enough in his letters.

Xavier never learnt the language of any of the lands he visited, least of all one of the Indian tongues. He carried on his work by means of interpreters, and helped himself out of his difficulties by the most defective methods. Let us hear what he himself says on the matter: "It is a difficult situation to find oneself in the midst of a people of strange language without an interpreter. Rodriguez tries, it is true, to act in that capacity, but he understands very little Portuguese. So you can imagine the life I lead here, and what my sermons are like, when neither the people can understand the interpreter, nor the interpreter the preacher, to wit, myself. I ought to be a pastmaster in the language of dumb show. Nevertheless, I am not altogether idle, for I need no translator's help in the baptism of newly-born children." In another letter he continues: "As they were as unable to understand my speech as I theirs, I picked out from the crowd several intelligent and educated men and endeavoured to find some amongst them who understood both languages—Spanish and Malabarese (*sic* Tamil). Then we entered into conference for several days, and together translated, though with great difficulty, the Catechism into the

Malabarese (? Tamil) tongue." How faulty this translation was is strikingly illustrated by a complaint casually made by Xavier, that in the Creed the Christians had learnt "I want" in place of "I believe," and continued thoughtlessly to repeat it.

Christian ideas for the expression of which no Tamil words were immediately forthcoming were simply denoted by the Spanish words—confession with "confessio," Holy Spirit with "Espiritu Santo," etc.—in any case, a course of procedure not making for intelligibility. These faulty translations Francisco Xavier learnt by heart, and then by reciting them impressed them upon the memories and hearts of the people.

We may reasonably question whether with an equipment of this imperfect nature—an equipment of which every present-day missionary would be ashamed—any more deeply spiritual missionary activity were possible to him. Xavier came as the recognised friend and favourite of King João III., had been entrusted by him with far-reaching powers, and kept in constant touch with him by means of a regular and intimate correspondence. In addition to all this, he arrived in India in the company of the new Viceroy, Alfonso da Suza. This powerful royal protection, the possibility of ever setting in motion the strong arm of power for his own ends, and the respect assured to him by this confidential position from all Portuguese governors and officials, gained for him from the very beginning a unique position. For the first five months he resided in Goa. A great institution, the College of St. Paul, was at that time being erected there at the cost of the State; in this college 100 natives gathered from all the Portuguese settlements in India were to be instructed in the Christian faith, that later on they might return as preachers amongst their own people. A Franciscan, Jacques Bourbon, was appointed Principal of the college. It was one of Xavier's first endeavours to secure the administration of this richly endowed institution for his own Order. In a few years' time his powerful influence succeeded in accomplishing this also; Paul Camerte, a member of the Society of Jesus, was created Director. With the possession of this institution the Jesuits obtained their first foothold in India; it soon became the headquarters of their Indian missionary work.

Xavier had in the meantime turned his attention to the far south of India. Between Cape Comorin and Ramnad there lived the semi-independent but very low-caste Paravas, fishers by trade. At this time they were so sorely oppressed by Mohammedan pirates that they were forced to attempt to defend themselves from their oppressors in a series of sanguinary rebellions. Threatened at length in their very existence, they

appealed to the Portuguese for help through the mediation of a wealthy countryman of theirs, Juan a Cruce, who had embraced Christianity and was now living in Goa; they promised in return to become Christians, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of Portugal. This occurred in 1538, or four years before Xavier landed. As their 85 deputies allowed themselves to be baptized there and then in Goa as a proof that they were in earnest about conversion to Christianity, a fleet was sent to their assistance, and the whole caste was baptized within a few weeks. There are said to have been 20,000 of such converts. No teacher remained there to instruct them. Thus we have here a characteristic example of that remarkable but to all acquainted with the missionary history of India, not infrequent phenomenon, of an entire caste or section of a caste throwing itself into the arms of Christian missions out of motives of worldly policy—in this case, in order to gain political protection. The unhealthy and all too intimate relations with the State in which missionary work found itself meant just this—a thing impossible under the English rule of to-day—that the power of the secular arm was at once exercised on behalf of missionaries, in order that its own worldly ends might be attained.

In the midst of this new movement Xavier soon found himself, and he laboured in connection therewith for two whole years; it is the crowning epoch of his Indian missionary work. "He went from village to village, calling crowds of men and boys together in a fitting place for instruction, by means of a hand-bell. Within a month the boys had almost learned by heart what he had recited to them, and they were then enjoined to teach it to their parents, comrades, and neighbours. On Sundays he assembled men and women, boys and girls, in a consecrated building, into which they streamed with joyful zeal. The service simply consisted in his repeating once more, very clearly, the aforesaid passages; they were then repeated by the congregation, the whole being interspersed with prayers offered at regular intervals."[1] Whether any real understanding of fundamental Christian truths was thereby attained, or whether indeed Xavier could make what he said sufficiently comprehensible even to the Christians, owing to his incompetent interpreters, cannot now be determined. It sometimes happened that a whole village would be baptized in a single day, and thirty villages were soon reckoned as belonging to the Christian community.

In every village there was left a copy of the above-mentioned Christian compendium, and an overseer (Kanakkapillay)

[1] Hoffmann and Venn, *Francis Xavier*, p. 135 *et seq.*

appointed, whose duties were to instruct the rest, to administer baptism in cases of emergency, and above all to repeat the principal articles of belief in the hearing of the people on holy days.

These overseers received a salary from the Portuguese Treasury. Xavier acted very severely with regard to idol-makers; he had even gone so far as to obtain powers from the King of Portugal entitling him to punish the making of idols with the death penalty. He also threatened with fines and imprisonment those who prepared palm wine, and still more those who consumed it immoderately. That this pastoral activity was an obvious Christian duty amongst the tens of thousands who were now Christians in name goes without saying; but we cannot help a feeling of keen regret that only one single individual gave himself up to it, that he did not understand one of their languages, and that he did not take the trouble to learn any.

The Paravas were soon to learn how advantageous their Christianity was to them, and what a powerful protector they possessed in Xavier. Dangerous quarrels were at that time going on in South India, into which had been drawn more particularly the kingdom of Madura, on the southern border of which the Fisher coast lay. Wild bands of mercenaries, the so-called Badagas ("Northmen") fell upon the Christian villages, settled down amongst them in the most cruel fashion, dispersed the Christians, and caused them to suffer the severest privations. As soon as Xavier heard of this, he loaded twenty cargo-boats with provisions of every description, and hastened to the help of the Christians; and when contrary winds hindered the progress of the boats, he strode forward for twenty hours over the hot sand in order to comfort and to relieve them. He at once took steps to guard against similar disaster in the future. He procured boats, in which in case of danger the Christians might at once rescue both themselves and their goods; he established a line of sentries to give due warning of the approach of the Badagas; he even bought a boat provided with cannon for the defence of the Christian villages. In spite of all his precautions, however, he could not hinder the Badagas from breaking in upon them the following year, and driving even the Portuguese Governor of Tuticorin into hasty flight. Xavier thereupon dispatched his brother Jesuit Mansilla to the sorely tried villages to console and to assist the poor Christians. It is no wonder that such swift and potent helpfulness soon won their hearts both to himself and to Christianity.

It was about this time that Xavier made a journey through Travancore, which, however, can only have been of short

duration. During the journey he is said to have baptized 10,000 heathens in one month. This is the only case where any actual figures are quoted in his letters, and Venn, his Protestant biographer, suggests that even these were inserted by a copyist. In his other letters Xavier merely writes of this as being a time when he baptized "very many" heathen, in fact "all the Mochas (fishermen) on the Travancore coast whom he could possibly meet with." Whether these baptisms *en masse* were preceded by any kind of instruction we cannot learn; the only charge Xavier gives Mansilla is, "Build schools in every village, that the children may be taught daily."

Xavier's own plans, however, had by this time undergone considerable alteration. In the Jaffna district of Ceylon, which lay just on the other side of the strait, disputes had arisen between members of the reigning house. The heir apparent, son of the king of those parts, had determined to become a Christian,—probably in the expectation that the Portuguese would then render him assistance,—but his father the king on hearing of his project at once had him executed.

Now in the year 1543 the pearl fishers on the island of Manar, who belonged to the same caste as the Parava fishermen on the adjacent mainland, had sent a deputation to Xavier begging him to baptize them also. He had not actually been able to go himself, but had sent another priest who baptized them wholesale. When this came to the ears of the King of Jaffna he caused all the converts to be mercilessly slaughtered by his own adherents. At the news of such a massacre Xavier hastened to the Portuguese Viceroy, and summoned him to undertake a crusade against this persecuting king. An excellent plan was soon devised. An elder brother of the King of Jaffna, who had a good claim to the throne, was now living on the mainland in order to be safe from the possible plots of his brother. This claimant promised to become a Christian and to be baptized if the Portuguese would make him king in his brother's stead. Xavier was full of sanguine hopes; he wrote at the time to João III.: "In Jaffna and on the opposite coast I shall easily gain 100,000 adherents for the Church of Christ." He hastened to Negapatam in 1544, in order to await there the success of the projected crusade. But something wholly unforeseen intervened, and for political reasons the entire crusade fell to the ground. Whereupon Xavier altogether lost courage, determined to leave India, and at the beginning of the year 1545 he proceeded to Further India, in order to obtain greater and easier successes. And that is practically the close of his work in India, a work not yet three years old.

It would be of interest to ascertain what numerical results—

even if only superficial ones—he obtained. We have already stated that they were limited almost exclusively to the fisher castes resident on the extreme south coast and on the neighbouring islands, and that these castes eagerly accepted Christianity, because through the influence of the Portuguese or of Xavier they were protected from powerful enemies, and their possession of important material advantages, such as the monopoly of the pearl fishery, was assured. There does not appear to have been any question of religious motives in the matter from beginning to end. The numerical returns of those baptized by Xavier or during the time he was in India differ very widely. Padre Brandonius, a well informed writer, sets them at merely 12,000 in 1554. Padre Gaspar, General Superintendent of the Jesuits' Indian Missions, estimates them at 60,000 in 1553, whilst Padre P. L. Frois in 1560 speaks of 80,000. When the Jesuit, A. Quadras, on his arrival in India in 1555, speaks of Xavier's 300,000 Christians, he is clearly writing from hearsay; and when Xavier's biographer Acosta, in 1570, also computes the number of Indian Christians as 300,000, he expressly includes Goa, where there were of course many Christians, and the Syrian Christians of Cochin. Gaspar is probably nearest the truth, but from his estimate a round 20,000 must be subtracted; those had already been baptized when Xavier entered the field.

Xavier himself was wholly dissatisfied with this result of his labours; but he doubted whether greater success were possible in India. In a letter to Ignacio Loyola in January 1549, he writes: "The natives (of India) are so terribly wicked that they can never be expected to embrace Christianity. It is so repellent to them in every way that they have not even patience to listen when we address them on the subject; in fact, one might just as well invite them to allow themselves to be put to death as to become Christians. We must now therefore limit ourselves to retaining those who are already Christians" (Hoffmann and Venn, p. 202). It was because of this disappointment and doubt as to the power of simple preaching that there developed in Xavier's ceaselessly active brain—at this time intoxicated by his constant intercourse with the ruling classes—the reckless plan of shifting the entire work of converting the heathen from the shoulders of the missionaries to those of the functionaries, viceroys, and governors.

The letter written in the year 1545, in which Xavier sketches this plan to King João III., is one of the most forcible and remarkable he ever wrote. In it he says: "I have discovered a unique, but as I assuredly believe, a sure means of improving this evil state of things, a means by which the number of Christians in this land may without doubt be greatly in-

creased. It consists in your Majesty declaring, clearly and decidedly, that you entrust your principal concern, to wit, the propagation of our most holy faith, to the Viceroy and to all the Deputy Governors in India, rather than to all the clergy and priests. . . . To avoid all misunderstanding, your Majesty would do well to indicate by name all those of us who are working in India, and to explain in this connection that your Majesty does not lay the responsibility on one or on a few or on all of us . . . but that the dissemination of Christianity shall in every case depend entirely upon the Viceroy or Governor. It is your Majesty's highest duty and privilege to care for the salvation of the souls of your subjects, and this duty can only be devolved upon such persons as are your Majesty's actual representatives and who enjoy the prestige and respect ever accorded to those in authority. . . . Let your Majesty therefore demand reports from the Viceroy or the Governors concerning the numbers and quality of those heathen who have been converted, and concerning the prospects of and means adopted for increasing the number of converts. . . . At the appointment of every high official to the government of any town or province, your Majesty's royal word should be most solemnly pledged to the effect that if in that particular town or province the number of native Christians were not considerably increased, its ruler would meet with the severest punishment; for it is evident that there would be a far greater number of converts, if only the officials earnestly desired it. Yea, I demand that your Majesty shall swear a solemn oath affirming that every Governor who shall neglect to disseminate the knowledge of our most holy faith shall be punished on his return to Portugal by a long term of imprisonment and by confiscation of his goods, which shall then be disposed of for charitable ends. . . . I will content myself with assuring you that if every Viceroy or Governor were convinced of the full seriousness of such an oath, the whole of Ceylon, many kings on the Malabar coast, and the whole of the Cape Comorin district would embrace Christianity within a year. As long, however, as the Viceroys and Governors are not forced by fear of disfavour to gain adherents to Christianity, your Majesty need not expect that any considerable success will attend the preaching of the gospel in India, or that many baptisms will take place."

It was a kind of echo to such letters as the foregoing when the king addressed the following decree to his Indian Viceroy:—
"My dear Viceroy,—That most essential duty of a Christian prince, namely, attention to the interests of religion and the employment of one's entire influence in maintaining the Catholic faith, moves us to issue the following order: That all

idols shall be sought out and destroyed, and severe penalties shall be laid upon all such as shall dare to make an idol . . . or shall shelter or hide a Brahman." Later on in the same letter the king commands that thorough financial and material aid shall be afforded to the Christians, they are to be secured against all compulsory service and oppression, special favour is to be shown them in the filling of appointments, etc., "in order that the natives may be inclined to submit themselves to the yoke of Christianity." In this cry for State assistance we can only discern a sorry example of the distortion and perversion of the missionary ideal, and it is grievous to think of even a Xavier being so shortsighted and so far from the real spirit of the gospel. He was the founder of Jesuit missions, which have been only too frequently and too extensively carried on in this spirit.

Xavier returned to India in January 1548, and remained for another fifteen months there, until April 1549; this time, however, it was not to resume his simple mission work, but to govern with unlimited authority the vast company of Jesuit missionaries who had been sent out after him. In 1542, when he first landed in India, two brethren only of the Order, Paul Camerte and Mansilla, had accompanied him. But João III. and the Order saw to it that there was no lack of reinforcements. In the year 1540, Xavier's friend, Simon Rodriguez, had been appointed Principal of the College at Coimbra in which one hundred, and afterwards two hundred Jesuits were educated. This institution was for a long time the main recruiting-ground of the Order of the Jesuits for the Indian mission field. As early as 1548 Xavier had to supervise over twenty Jesuit missionaries, and it soon became evident that he possessed extraordinary powers as a ruler of men. Besides innumerable long letters to King João and his friends, both in Europe and in India, there are still extant five very ample charges of his, and also a *Guide to the Christian Life*, which has been translated into many languages. The charges bear frequent witness to his great wisdom and to his profound knowledge of the human heart. But if we come to them seeking guidance about right methods of carrying on missionary work amongst the heathen population of the country, we shall be disappointed. Xavier's object in composing them was rather to place his own Order in possession of the entire Indian mission field and to oust all other Orders he had found on the ground at his arrival, and more especially the Franciscans. We have already mentioned the fact that he had obtained supreme control of the great College of St. Paul at Goa for the Jesuits; he attempted to do the same with the

Franciscan College at Kranganur, in Cochin; and his efforts were crowned with the accustomed success. And for the rest, he stationed the brethren in the Order, who were to a man under his direction and pledged to unconditional obedience, in all the great centres of the Portuguese dominion, so that they might ever be to the fore and might gain influence in every direction. During the last years of his short life, however, his interests were so largely confined to the Far East that the work in India was left for the most part in the hands of his colleagues, Camerte and Antonio Gomez. But they did not stand the test. When in the spring of 1552, Xavier returned once more to India for a few months, he found his hands at once full: there were quarrels to pacify, unworthy members of the Order to be expelled, men who had proved themselves unequal to their appointed tasks to replace—in short, an entire revolution had to be undertaken. The writing of numerous letters by means of which he endeavoured to establish a new order of things was the last service he rendered to the cause of Indian missions. On December 2nd of that same year, he died on the island of Sanzian, within sight of the Chinese coast. His body was buried with magnificent pomp at Goa in 1554, and it is to-day one of the most valuable relics of Roman Catholic India. Francisco Xavier was beatified in 1619 by Pope Paul V., and canonised in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV. He has become one of the favourite saints, not only of the Order of the Jesuits, but of the whole Romish Church.

(c) *The Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*

The missionary activity of the Roman Catholics during the second half of the sixteenth century was almost entirely along the lines which Xavier had marked out. Like most men of commanding genius, he unites in himself the best thought and aspirations of his age, as is seen by the fact that whilst the missionary work of the Romish Church during the half-century following his death affected a very much larger area, it nevertheless took scarcely one single step forward as regards inward development, grasp of missionary problems, or understanding of missionary methods. That missionary enterprise everywhere accompanies the Portuguese temporal power is characteristic of the time. Missionary work in this period is merely one amongst a number of efforts put forth by the State for the government of the Indian colonies; and in return the State is ready and willing to place its strong arm at the disposal of the missionaries to assist them in the discharge of their religious task. What the missionary party desired found its classical expression in the

Junta assembled in 1579 at Goa by the Viceroy of India at the instance of the Portuguese sovereign, and which was composed of clergy under the presidency of the Archbishop. The question it had to decide was whether the natives in the Portuguese colonies in India were to be allowed liberty in religious observance. Its answer was "No," and thus it was admitted that the carrying on of the Christianising process in the Portuguese possessions was the common duty of the State and of the Church. The most rapid and most thorough progress was made in Goa, the main seat of Portuguese authority, and the base of all its colonial projects. As early as 1510, when the Portuguese entered into possession of the town and island, efforts had been made to create artificially a strong resident Christian population; even in 1546, King João III. had forbidden "servants of Brahma" all public exercise of their religion, and had commanded the destruction of idols. But in view of the still unstable condition of the Portuguese dominion, and perhaps for other reasons, the viceroys had always hesitated to use force in the suppression of heathenism. After 1554 the Jesuits made it their especial task to Christianise Goa and its immediate neighbourhood. In 1557 they obtained from the Viceroy an ordinance whereby all the lower official positions in the Portuguese service were reserved for native Christians, who were also to be favoured in many other ways. Especially were all ceremonies connected with baptism to be observed in the future with great pomp, and in the presence of the highest officials in State and Church. By every means possible it was to be brought home to those caste-bound Indians that the sole means of social advancement was to accept the "Prangui Koulam," or religion of the Franks.[1] Prangui, an Indian mispronunciation of Frank, *i.e.* Portuguese, became both in Western and in Southern India the general appellation for the native Christians, as well as for the ruling Portuguese. In such hosts did the heathen in and around Goa now range themselves on the side of Christianity, that in the year 1560 alone, at twenty-seven brilliant baptismal ceremonies, 12,967 natives were baptized. As early as 1563—that is, barely ten years after the Jesuits had made a serious commencement of their labours—an order was received from King Sebastião of Portugal, that all "stiff-necked heathen" were to be banished from the Goa territory. In the last decades of the century the Christianising process had in the main been completed in this district, only a few hundreds being baptized every year.

[1] The question in the Catechism, "Dost thou desire to become a Christian?" was then worded: "Wilt thou enter the caste of the Prangui?" "To live the Christian life" was termed "to live according to the manner of the Prangui."

This same process did not go on so smoothly at Salsette, a peninsula stretching out some two or three miles south of Goa (not to be confused with the island of the same name near Bombay). In this district, the population of which at that time numbered 80,000 souls, all missionary efforts up to the year 1560 had been well-nigh in vain—the people clung tenaciously to heathenism. Then the Jesuits took up the work. In 1567 they persuaded the Viceroy to issue a decree ordering that "in those districts of Goa which yet remain heathen, the pagodas and mosques shall be pulled down, and orphans under fourteen years of age shall be baptized." Immediately the Jesuit, Ludwig Goës, set to work, with the help of the royal deputies and of Portuguese troops, to destroy 280 large pagodas and mosques and countless smaller ones. But he raised thereby such grim hatred of the Jesuits that their lives were frequently in danger; in 1583 a large number of them were put to death, along with their escort, by the irritated heathen populace. Still, Goa lay so near at hand that the propaganda of the Jesuit fathers was able to benefit by the authority of the ruling power, and every attempted rebellion could be easily suppressed. In these circumstances "conversions" abounded. In 1596 there were already about 35,000 Christians on Salsette. The Brahmans and other high castes had migrated to the adjoining kingdom of Bijapur. Amongst the lower classes that remained the work of Christianisation went on practically without opposition. The peninsula was divided into livings, and the Jesuits as pastors ruled both parish and community with a strong hand.

The province of Goa, which to-day comprises only sixty-five square miles of territory, is unique in India in the impression it makes on a visitor as being a Catholic and Christian country. "The Roman Catholic character of the country comes upon one with most surprising effect in the midst of these heathen districts. On every station platform one sees dark-robed monks and priests. On every hillside there is a chapel, and scattered up and down the fields and lanes are crucifixes and images of the Virgin. In the larger towns and cities stately churches rear their spires heavenward. Everywhere one encounters people wearing rosaries and crucifixes on their breasts" (*Basle Miss. Mag.*, 1904, p. 464). It is estimated that at the present time two-thirds of the 494,836 inhabitants, *i.e.* about 340,000, are Roman Catholics. The missionary operations in Goa and its neighbourhood are typical of the methods of the Jesuits during this period. They acted in precisely similar fashion in the other Portuguese colonies along the Indian coast: Bassein, Shaul, Daman, and Diu, to the north of Goa; at Cochin and along the coast stretching therefrom to the south, the Fisher

coast on the hither and the farther side of Cape Comorin, where Xavier had previously laboured; at Negapatam, Milapur, in the Ganges Delta and in Arakan. But although the Jesuits both as regards numbers, influence, and training easily took up the commanding position, there were to be seen almost everywhere in addition the monasteries, churches, and schools of the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and, after 1572, of the Augustinians. As far as the Portuguese influence extended, so far the wide-meshed net of missionary enterprise was outspread—though it must be granted that, a few unimportant exceptions being made, it stretched only so far.

We know neither the number of missionaries in the field nor the number of native Christians at the close of the sixteenth century. But if the Jesuits alone had about 300 Indian missionaries in 1590, we may safely compute the number of missionaries of all the other Orders at 200; that gives in round numbers 500 Roman Catholic missionaries in India, or about the same number as there were of Protestant missionaries in 1870 (the former, however, having been ninety years on the ground, the latter only eighty). As a result of their work up to 1590, we may reckon about 60,000 native Christians in Goa and the neighbourhood, 35,000 on the peninsula of Salsette, 110,000 on the Fisher coast from Tuticorin to Cape Comorin (the numbers given for 1610 vary between 130,000 and 90,000), 14,000 between Cochin and Quilon, and 15,000 in Travancore, south of Quilon,—these are the greater and more compact masses of native Christians. (We take no account here of the Syrian Church of "Thomas" Christians, which joined hands with Rome in 1599.) In the absence of reliable statistics we may estimate the numerous smaller missions from Ormuz and the island of Diu in the north-west, and along the Indian coast as far as Pegu, at 20,000 —a figure probably rather under the mark than over it. Thus the sum total of the successes gained by the first century of Portuguese missions was a Christian community of some 254,000 souls (as against 224,258 Protestants in 1871, with approximately the same number of workers and after eighty years' labour).[1]

(d) *Robert de Nobili*

A fresh impulse was given to Indian, and especially to Jesuit, missionary work by the appearance of Robert de Nobili in 1605.

[1] We must make due allowance, however, for the fact that the whole power of the Portuguese Government was at the beck and call of the Roman Catholic missionaries, whereas the Protestant mission gained its footing in face of constant opposition on the part of Anglo-Indian authorities.

Born in Rome of a distinguished branch of the Italian nobility, a nephew of the famous Cardinal Bellarmine and nearly related to Pope Marcellus II., this brilliantly gifted, highly educated, and zealous man had voluntarily sacrificed all his prospects in the home country in order to adopt the self-denying calling of a simple missionary in far-away India. Even there he never sought high honour; his heart burned only with the one desire to convert as many Hindus as possible to Christianity. Now, many of the Parava Christians who had been evangelised on the Fisher coast by Francisco Xavier and his successors had migrated to the city of Madura, at that time one of the most famous centres of South Indian culture and learning and the imposing capital of the pomp-loving Nayak kings. A Jesuit, Fernandes by name, a pious and zealous but not particularly cultured person, had been sent thither to minister to them. The Parava Christians were set little store by in Madura, both on account of their despised origin and their lack of learning, and the little band had no influence whatever upon the heathens by whom they were surrounded. All the efforts of Fernandes to influence or to win the attention of a wider circle than the Fisher Christians proved in vain. It was in the year 1606 that Nobili was appointed to work as colleague to the lonely Fernandes. He had only been a few weeks in Madura when he matured great and far-reaching plans for missionary activity, plans which he had already mapped out at an earlier period.

Hitherto, as we have already seen, missionary work and the authority of the State had gone hand in hand. In the main, Portuguese colonies only had formed the starting-point for, and become the centres of, missionary operations; these latter had been carried out with the hall-mark of royal decrees and Portuguese banners writ large upon them; the Christians had entered the "Prangui Caste," *i.e.* that of the Franks or Portuguese. It was self-evident that such missions were only possible in places where their promoters were within reach of the military or political power of Portugal. This, however, was only possible in reality in a very minute portion of India, only along parts of the coast. In this city of Madura, the metropolis of one of the ancient empires of South India, situated in the very midst of the main current of Indian civilisation, Nobili found himself confronted with the great and crucial missionary problem, "How can Christianity be brought within the reach of the people of India independent of efforts after territorial aggrandisement? How can it be so presented to them as that they may be in a position to examine it objectively and to accept it for its own sake?" He arrived at the theoretically correct answer, "The missionary must be, as Paul said, an

Indian to the Indians," and he determined to follow up this path in both directions: on the one hand, he would sever all connection with the Portuguese; on the other, in all the concerns of his life he would endeavour to appear purely and simply a native of India. In determining on this second step, two facts were patent to him from the very outset: Christianity could only be brought within the reach of the Hindus by imitating the outward method by which they were accustomed to receive religious truth, *i.e.* by the person recommending it himself appearing in the guise of a Brahman; and further, he could only hope to win people of the upper classes, of the higher castes, by leaving the whole caste system unassailed and untouched. Of course his premise here is that the Indian caste system is simply a semi-political, semi-social institution, to a large extent independent of religion, though certain of its subordinate features may be of a religious nature. This conception of caste was to Nobili a question of principle; and, so far as we know, neither at this time nor in the subsequent "accommodation" conflicts was such a conception opposed. At the present stage of Indian research we can only characterise this conception of caste (which lay at the base of Nobili's whole system) as at the very least one-sided, and especially so as far as it relates to the caste of the Brahmans. But we can well push that matter to one side in order to sketch very briefly the development of Nobili's system.

Nobili withdrew himself from his colleague Fernandes, procured himself a private house in another district of Madura, and fitted it up so as to resemble in its minutest details the house of a Brahman. He donned the light yellow robe of a Sannyasi (penitent) Brahman, engaged Brahmans as his servants, and confined his menu to the vegetarian diet of the Brahmans. He shrouded himself in mystery, as many of them love to do, seldom appeared in public, and only allowed visitors of the highest castes, and Brahmans in particular, to have access to him. He adopted exclusively the Indian custom of carrying on conversation by means of learned disputations, and sought to commend Christianity as the highest philosophy to the Hindus, so long trained in all the finesse of hair-splitting dialectics. Those who associated themselves with him as disciples, he tried by means of a thirty or forty days' course to lead to a fuller knowledge of Christianity—again chiefly by disputation; he would then baptize them, though he accounted baptism as by no means implying a breaking with caste. The view now everywhere prevalent in India, that baptism in itself constitutes the breaking of caste, inevitably resulting in exclusion from heathen caste circles, had not yet come into existence.

On the contrary, those who were baptized maintained all the forms and ceremonies of their old caste; they continued to wear the sacred thread, which Nobili himself now did, the only difference being that the Christian "sacred thread" consisted of three golden strands, symbolic of the Holy Trinity, and two silver ones, typifying the human and divine nature of Christ. But the uninitiated could not perceive the difference, and cases were not unknown in which Christians wore threads consecrated by heathen Brahmans. The Christians too, like the heathen, bore the caste mark on their forehead; they simply did not employ cow-dung ashes as the natives did, but used instead ashes of sandalwood over which a prescribed form of consecration had been spoken: Nobili too had one of these sandalwood signs painted on his forehead. A special church was erected for his converts, and they were organised into a self-contained community which had no dealings whatever with the older church of the Parava Christians. Nobili allowed caste differences to exist in all their rigour between church members of a higher and a lower caste, even to the extent of countenancing the idea that contact between a Parava Christian and a Brahman Christian rendered the latter unclean. He called himself a Rajah from Rome, a Guru or Teacher of Religion, a Sannyasi or Penitent, and from 1611 onwards, a Brahman to boot. He claimed to be the bringer of a fourth and lost Veda, which he termed the spiritual law; this alone could impart eternal life. Its contents were partly interspersed among those of the three other Vedas; to a very great extent, however, they had been up to the present wholly lost; this lost Veda he now restored to the Hindus. To support this fiction he acquired with astounding industry a knowledge not only of Tamil and Telugu, the two languages principally spoken in Madura, but also of Sanskrit. Nobili was the first European to thoroughly master this difficult language, and he even came to use it with a certain degree of elegance. At the same time he made a profound study of the sacred and philosophical literature of India, and with great skill and a most enviable tenacity of memory he was able to pick out and ever hold in readiness for immediate use all such passages as served to strengthen his bold position. The study of Sanskrit and the ancient literature of the country were at that time wholly neglected, and the Brahmans themselves were not innocent of gross forgeries. All this gave such an able and shrewd individual as Nobili his chance—and he seized it.

Despite, however, all the learning and sagacity of Nobili, we are none the less compelled to admit that his system contained very serious flaws. His fiction that he was a Brahman from the

West may be criticised much in the same way as the attempt of some Protestant evangelist who, disguised as a mendicant friar, and flinging about him learned scraps from patristic literature, should carry on a Protestant propaganda in the monasteries of Southern Italy, whilst proclaiming himself all the time a firm friend and a representative of the Pope. According to Indian ideas, a Brahman is born a Brahman; his nobility is a hereditary nobility. A "Roman Brahman" is a contradiction in terms, a plain deception, and all the more so because Nobili sought to disguise the fact that he was of European descent. He had only himself to blame when the suspicious heresy-hunters amongst the Brahmans industriously wormed out the knowledge of his relations with the Portuguese ecclesiastic and civil authorities on the West Coast of India, and triumphantly declared that, after all, he was a Prangui, a European, and that there was no reason in the world to conceal his intimate connection with Padre Fernandes and the rest of the Portuguese. The division of the Church at Madura, with its two separate places of worship and the entire separation of the two congregations, was bound to create a painful impression throughout Christendom: it was too great a contrast to the fundamental Christian doctrine of brotherly love. We cannot blame the Parava Christians for receiving their degradation to Christians of the second rank somewhat mutinously, and for actively protesting against it both to the heathen and to the ecclesiastical authorities.

Müllbauer, a Roman Catholic historian, passes judgment on this separation of the two Churches in the following words: "The thoughtful student will not fail to observe the contradiction in the retention of caste to the all-reconciling love of Christianity; for Christian concord cannot but be broken when a Christian Brahman deems himself unclean through his having, in the same church and at the same holy board, knelt side by side with a Pariah, and with him received, under the form of bread, his Saviour—to Whom no respect of persons is known. We are asked to defend such a state of things both on the ground of the example of the Apostles and on that of the practice of the Church, but unjustly. . . . Nobody will ever be able to prove that Jewish and Gentile Christians had separate churches, and it might rightly be condemned as a relapse into Pharisaism had a Jewish Christian considered himself defiled by receiving the Sacrament at the hands of an elder who visited a Gentile Christian, to say nothing of the fact that the elder himself might have previously been a Gentile unbeliever. Although there may have been retained in the Church even down to the present time many a method of favouring the

wealthy and the great of the earth, can it be believed for a moment that the Church would ever permit this right to be claimed by any parties whatsoever? And if ever views so much out of keeping with the very nature of Christianity were to become prevalent, those who held them would assuredly be shown the error of their ways and no new encouragement be afforded them" (Müllbauer, *Geschichte der katholischen Missionen in Ostindien*, p. 209 *et seq*).

Nobili and his system were soon severely attacked from all sides. He mollified the opposition of influential Brahmans by means of bribes. He met the complaints of the Parava Christians by the following public notice, which he had nailed up on the front of his house: "I am no Prangui. I was neither born in their country, nor am I a member of their caste. In this God is my witness, and if I lie, I am willing, not only to be deemed a traitor to God and to be given over to the pains of hell hereafter, but also to suffer every conceivable chastisement in this world. I was born in Rome. My family there holds rank corresponding to that of the most distinguished rajahs over here. From my youth I have made choice of the calling of a Sannyasi; I have studied philosophy and the holy spiritual law. . . . The holy spiritual law which I proclaim obliges no man to renounce his caste or to do anything incompatible with his caste-honour. This law which I proclaim has been preached in this very land by other men, Sannyasis and saints alike. Whoever maintains that this law is peculiar to the Pranguis or the Pariahs commits a great sin; for, since God is Lord of all castes, His law must likewise be observed by all" (Müllbauer, *ibid.* p. 184; Warneck, *Protestantische Beleuchtung*, p. 390). The sophism by which he sets his Roman descent in contradistinction to the popular conception of the "Prangui"—whether regarded as "Portuguese" or "native Christians"—is fallacious; and his insistence to such an extent upon actual or only imaginary echoes of the truth in Indo-pagan literature, as if Christianity contributed nothing further, nothing new, nothing radically different, is equally untrue.

But these lesser disputes and conflicts at Madura were only as a drop in the bucket compared with the fight for the ecclesiastical recognition of Nobili's system—a system that stood in sharp contrast to that of Xavier which had prevailed hitherto, to the ordinary rule and practice of every monastic order in India, and to the resolutions of the Indian Provincial Councils. There is no point in our tracing here the course of these intricate proceedings, confused and involved as they often were by cross-currents of intrigue, and of personal sympathies and antipathies: they are not on the whole very edifying reading, and they

display an amazingly small amount of real competence, by the way in which they were conducted. Far and away the cleverest document in the controversy is Nobili's own defence, to which, although it would carry no conviction to a Protestant or any one acquainted with Indian affairs, there was practically no reply possible from the standpoint of late medieval Romanism. The temporary cessation of this thirteen years' war was brought about by the Bull of Pope Gregory on January 31st, 1623, "Romanae sedis antistes," which gave ecclesiastical sanction to Nobili's system. It is characteristic of Roman Catholicism to notice on what points the conflict is made to turn and what concessions were made to Nobili: "Out of compassion for human weakness,"[1] Nobili's converts are permitted to retain the plait of hair (the "kudumi," at that time spelt "kodhumbi"), the Brahmanical thread, the sandalwood sign on the forehead, and the customary ablutions of their caste. They must, however, separate these things from all heathen superstition and envelop these old pagan customs with a cloak of Christianity. "The cord and the coil of hair shall not be received in idolatrous temples, nor, as appears to have been the case hitherto, at the hands of 'yogis' or 'bottis' (masters), or from any other unbeliever, but solely from Catholic priests who shall consecrate these things with holy water and distribute them after reading the prayers appointed by the bishop of the diocese" (Müllbauer, *ibid.* p. 195). The great questions which lay at the root of the whole conflict, the position of the Christian community within the caste system, the division of the Church into a Brahman and a Pariah section, the honourableness and admissibility of arrogating to themselves the name and standing of Brahmans, as Nobili and his colleagues had done, etc.,—all such questions were passed over in the papal decree, and scarcely debated in the controversy which preceded it.

This papal decree of 1623 was a victory for Nobili's system. On this basis it was developed for more than a century in the Tamil country, it was pushed to its furthest issues in every direction, and every possible inference and conclusion was drawn from it. Immediately after his victory Nobili himself seized the staff of a wandering Brahman teacher and sect founder, in order to propagate his new doctrine far and wide throughout the Tamil country, even as far north as Salem. Fellow-workers also rallied round him, though in varying numbers. Only in 1648, and after forty-two years of missionary labour, did Nobili, now well-nigh blind, leave the theatre of his exploits, and, obeying the orders of his superiors, retire, first to the Jesuit College at Jaffna, in Ceylon, and then to the Jesuit

[1] "*Humanæ infirmitatis miserendo.*"

monastery at Milapur, near Madras. To the end of his life he observed the strictest ceremonial of a Sannyasi, and limited his diet to a few bitter herbs cooked in water. His time was divided betwixt extensive literary work and quiet prayer in the so-called Grotto of the Apostle Thomas. We possess a long list of his Tamil writings, most of which were printed sooner or later. An octogenarian and quite blind, he died in peace and submission to the will of God, at Milapur, on February 16th, 1656. Incontestably he is numbered, with Xavier, amongst the great missionaries of India; for a century and a half all the important missionary work of his Order was executed along the lines he had laid down in so masterly a fashion. Even in the nineteenth century he was remembered by the Hindus as the Tatwa Bodha Swami. Of the fundamental deceitfulness of his method he seems to have had no sense; he was too deeply imbued with the traditions of later Catholic missions and was too pronounced a Jesuit for that.

Missions on Nobili's methods were multiplied, and they carried with them their natural consequences. Although Nobili had shrewdly begun with the Brahmans in the presentation of his teaching, he must nevertheless have desired to see it spreading abroad amongst the lower classes to as large an extent as possible, especially as the Jesuits soon discovered among the Pariahs and the lower strata of the people a much greater readiness to receive the new doctrine than was the case among the Brahmans. But when large bodies of native Christians began to be recruited from the ranks of the Pariahs and the caste-less, a new difficulty came to light: those appointed as missionaries to the higher classes could not, if they wished to be any longer considered as Brahmans and to work within the boundaries of the caste system, have any relations whatever with the Pariah Christians, could not enter the churches and chapels built for the Pariahs, could not administer to them the Sacraments, could not visit at their huts, etc.; in short, they were excluded from exercising all pastoral duties towards the Pariahs. And, *vice versa*, a missionary to the Pariahs was debarred from all access to the Christian communities of higher castes. It was a direct consequence of the system that two orders of Jesuit missionaries came into being, the Brahman Sannyasis (Romapuri Sannyasis or Kshatriya Brahmans, *i.e.* Northern Brahmans) for the upper classes, and Pandara Swamis for the lower, and these two classes were thus forced to have as little as possible to do with one another, and were unable to hold at any rate public intercourse the one with the other. It demanded a large amount of self-denial on the part of the Pandara Swamis, thus debarred from all communication

with the educated strata of society, and indeed from the brethren of their own Order, to confine themselves to the uneducated and backboneless Pariahs. It is no wonder that, towards the end of the seventeenth and during the eighteenth century, when the number of Jesuit missionaries was no longer adequate to cope with their extensive missionary work, no suitable Pandara Swamis were to be found. The Brahman Sannyasis were obliged to shepherd the Pariah Christian communities in ways altogether pitiful. They administered the Sacrament in the dead of night outside the doors of the churches, whither the dying were also brought for extreme unction; they built themselves houses with secret side entrances for the Pariah Christians; they divided the churches by lofty walls, that the Pariahs might at least behold the mass from a transept or a kind of "Nicodemus' corner." On the whole, however, they neglected the already ignorant Pariahs in a most reprehensible fashion. The main blame of course for this is due to the insufficient number of missionaries employed in the Madura Mission; even in its best days there were seldom more than twelve or fifteen European padres engaged at the same time in this extensive field, and after the end of the seventeenth century there were generally only eight. And no change was made when, after the occupation of Pondicherry by the French in 1680, French Jesuits began to come to India.[1] Up to that time the missionaries had been principally Portuguese and Italians. The French soon sought out a field of their own in the Carnatic (North and South Arcot), though they worked it on Nobili's methods.

The Brahman Sannyasis had likewise peculiar difficulties. Only a Nobili was competent to penetrate the secrets of Brahman philosophy and sophistry and to fight the Brahmans with their own weapons. His successors frequently met with the greatest obstacles in acquiring the difficult Indian languages, and only with difficulty succeeded in steering a straight course through the maze of Indian philosophy. Besides this it became of course more and more awkward for Nobili's successors to maintain the fiction that they had nothing to do with Europe; their intimate relations therewith were only too patent, and the reproach that they were Pranguis was raised against them at every fresh persecution. Moreover, this fiction with its accompaniment of an exclusively vegetarian diet, and conditions of life and mode of travel wholly intolerable for Europeans, involved an abnegation and a self-denial which cost them dear. The mortality in their ranks, already so thin, was disproportionately large; a catechist speaks of the death of twenty-four padres in the space of forty years, whom he himself knew

[1] The first of them arrived there in 1699.

intimately, to say nothing of those who were compelled to return from the field with ruined health.

And the results Nobili actually aimed at with his system were never obtained either by himself or by his successors. Within the first decades many Brahmans are said to have embraced Christianity, especially at Madura. But it was a just judgment of heaven that this, Nobili's principal station, was and continued to be, as a matter of fact, the most unfruitful of all. At Nobili's death it numbered only 200 Christians—and his admirers claim that he converted 100,000 Hindus! And exactly in proportion as the European descent of Nobili and his colleagues became evident, conversions from Brahman castes practically ceased. In the Jesuit Mission at Madura itself by far the larger number of the Christians belonged to the Sudra and Pariah castes; but the assumption by many of these of the Christian name was purchased at the heavy expense of maintaining the caste system of India in all its rigour. Even in the eighteenth century the idea was abroad in Christian circles that they formed a new religious caste, with a somewhat anomalous doctrine, it was true, but still one that would in all the details of life fall within the limits of Indian tradition.

The fundamental dishonesty of the Jesuitical system is perhaps revealed in the most striking way of all by the remarkable literary forgeries which the Jesuits committed, probably about the middle of the seventeenth century. In order to support Nobili's claim to have restored a hitherto lost Veda, they published—which of the missionaries it was we know not; Catholic writers try to exonerate Nobili of any blame in the matter, although the native Christians of Pondicherry always attributed the authorship to him (Müllbauer, p. 179, note 1)—the so-called "Ezour Vedam,"[1] "the spiritual teaching," an exposition of so-called natural theology, from which specifically Christian dogmas were eliminated, and the whole of which was arranged in a form pleasing to Tamil taste. The Jesuit missionaries are said to have sworn before an assembly of Brahmans that they had received this book from the god Brahma! In India as in Europe this subtle forgery was for a century and a half regarded as genuine, though the reason was that neither in the East nor in the West had any one skilled knowledge of the real Vedas, or a sufficiently developed historical appreciation of them. Protestant missionaries in Madras exposed the fraud about the year 1840.

In order, however, to be just to the Madura Mission, we must remember one thing: it was carried on under exceptional difficulties. Its entire sphere of operations was, during the

[1] Printed in French at Yverdon in 2 vols. in 1778. Cf. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiv. pp. 1–159.

greater part of a century (1690–1750), swept from end to end with unceasing wars, which inflicted on the Christians bitter persecutions, pillage, and distresses. And as the missionaries had renounced all European protection, and even all connection with colonial powers hailing from Europe, they were thus exposed to every caprice of heathen and Muhammadan rajahs, and to all the hostility of the Brahmans and the fanatical sects of South India, especially the Vaishnavites or Dasseris. Times without number they were cast into prison, cruelly scourged, banished from the country, and so on. One of them, a pious monk named Juan de Brito, was even put to death in 1693 at Ureiur (hod. Pudukkottai), in the State of Marava. Why they should, by a most studied attention to Indian customs and ideas, avoid as far as possible everything singular and should wish to appear truly Indian in every respect can only really be understood when one remembers the hopeless political state of the country and their own perilous situation as well as that of their adherents. It was only by laying claim to the calling of a Sannyasi that they obtained any measure of protection whether from potentate or from people —for no Hindu would ever dare to lay hands on a Sannyasi.

In view of these exceptional difficulties it is worthy of note that besides Nobili and Juan de Brito, the martyr, quite a number of distinguished men worked in the Madura Mission; such were the devoted pastor and seeker of souls, Martinez (d. 1656), the eminent linguist Joseph Beschi (d. 1747) whom the Tamils have come to regard as one of their classical writers, that self-denying Frenchman, Jean V. Bouchet, etc. What number of native Christians belonged to this mission cannot be accurately stated, both on account of the entire lack of reliable statistics and of the frequent alterations in the stations.

The main centres of its work were Madura, Trichinopoly (later Aur or Wariur, in its immediate neighbourhood), Tanjore (later the adjacent town of Elakurichi), the kingdom of Marava (the modern Pudukkottai and Ramnad), Satyamangalam in Mysore, and a few stations north of the Cauvery. Then at the commencement of the eighteenth century there were added the new (1680) French sphere at Pondicherry and a few stations in the Carnatic (the Arcot provinces). At Nobili's death in 1656 100,000 Christians are said to have belonged to the Mission. About the year 1703 the number of Christians in the whole district was reckoned in round numbers at 150,000 souls, 46,482 of whom we can check by the baptismal records for the years 1656–1687 (Müllbauer, *ibid.* p. 237 and p. 212, note). In Mysore there may have been some 35,000 in all, and at the French stations in the Carnatic between 8000–9000. In the small kingdom of Marava, which, however, enjoyed the reputa-

tion of being peculiarly "good ground," we are told that in 1687 there were only 2070 Christians; in 1691–1692, 8000; in 1693–1694, 14,000, and a short time afterwards other 13,600, making a total of 37,670 persons baptized in eight years! Laynez, General Director of the Madras Mission from 1685 to 1704, is said to have baptized 45,000 people himself. But these figures are all unreliable. At any rate Dubois, one of the Jesuits themselves, states that in his time (1815) there were but 33,000 Christians at the outside connected with the Madura Mission. It is still more deplorable to read that even this number were in an unhealthy condition. Thus Müllbauer, an upright and reliable witness, writes: "For a hundred and fifty years the missionaries worked unweariedly among the Indian Christians; but there resulted therefrom neither any considerable movement towards Christianity amongst the upper castes, nor yet the least amalgamation of the various castes amongst those professing Christianity" (*ibid.* p. 210).

It was quite impossible that the decree of 1623 could be the last word of the Holy See on the accommodation policy of the Jesuits. About 1700 the controversy broke forth afresh, and raged with incredible vehemence and bitterness during the next forty-four years. On renewed plaints being received from the Capucine monks in 1703, Pope Clement XI. dispatched Maillard de Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch, to India, with full power to pronounce a definite verdict on the practices of the Jesuits. On June 23rd, 1704, he published a decree in which sixteen malpractices of the Jesuits were condemned. At a baptism neither the anointing of the convert with spittle, nor the use of salt, nor breathing upon the face of the convert must be omitted!! It is not permissible to give names or appellations to converts or to church furniture similar in sound to those given to an idol or a heathen Sannyasi (2 and 3). The baptism of converts' children shall not be delayed beyond a certain time mutually agreed upon (4). Marriage before the age of seven years (!) is forbidden (5). The tali or sign of marriage, and the knot of a hundred and eight threads by which it is worn, are forbidden (6 and 7). Women may attend the churches during the morbus menstrualis (10). "When a maiden is afflicted with the above-mentioned indisposition for the first time, the fact shall not be made public, for decency's sake, and no festival ought on that account to be celebrated by relatives and neighbours" (11). It is forbidden to Pariah Christians to serve as musicians in heathen temples; it is also forbidden to daub marks on the forehead with ashes of cow-dung and to practise the customary washings and ceremonial ablutions of the Brahmans, etc. (13, 14, 15). The most incisive pro-

nouncement was the 12th: "In future, refusal of the Holy Sacrament to Pariahs who may be sick will no longer be permitted; such persons shall be visited by the missionaries in their homes, and the sacred unction given without distinction of sex or caste." With the exception of this last, the clauses in Tournon's decree seem to us somewhat paltry; they strike at the coarser abuses which had crept in under the accommodation system in course of time, without entering into the great questions of principle which lay at the root of it. The question Tournon set before himself in each separate case was: Which usages may in a case of necessity be allowed to remain, and which must be abolished for the sake of uniformity of observance in the Romish Church?

It is on this decree of Tournon that all further hostilities, extending as they did over more than the next forty years, hinge. The Jesuits made every effort to hinder its being carried out, or to obtain its withdrawal. They appealed to unconfirmed expressions of opinion both by Tournon and by Pope Clement XI.; they opposed the Pope's briefs by passive resistance, and by emphasising the Portuguese right of patronage they stirred up the Bishops and Archbishops of Goa and Milapur against the intervention of the Pope. But it was all to no purpose, each successive Pope confirmed and renewed Tournon's judgment: Clement XI. in two briefs of January 7th, 1707 and 1711; Benedict XIII. by the brief, "Ad aures nostras pervenit" of December 12th, 1727; Clement XII. by that entitled "Compertum exploratumque" of August 24th, 1734 (there were a few unimportant concessions to the Jesuits in this one), and later by the two commencing "concredita nobis" (May 13th, 1739) and "continere labia nostra non possumus." The conflict was finally terminated by Pope Benedict XIV. in the famous Bull "Omnium sollicitudinum" dated September 12th, 1744, in which he confirmed and emphasised Tournon's decree and the briefs of his predecessors. "Should the members of the Society of Jesus not obey within the appointed time, they shall be deprived of all authority, and missionaries of another Order be sent out to India" (Müllbauer, *ibid.* pp. 262–276). There cannot be the least doubt that, so far as Tournon in his decree struck at the abuses of the Jesuits, he has received, notwithstanding the almost desperate opposition of that Order, the unconditional sanction and approval of the Papal See; that is to say, the Jesuits experienced a complete defeat in this controversy. It is therefore incomprehensible that as late as 1875 a writer in *Katholischen Missionen* should make the assertion: "In the end Nobili's principles proved themselves both tenable and practicable, and

his method of procedure not simply not captious but the only serviceable one under the circumstances" (p. 52). And it is a most barefaced contradiction of the truth when the Jesuit, Father Atteridge (in the *Dublin Review*, 1884, p. 121), contends that the Bull "Omnium sollicitudinum" was "in no sense a condemnation of Nobili's methods. The principle adopted by Nobili was not condemned but sanctioned by the Papal See"!! (Cf. Warneck, *Abriss*, p. 366.)

(e) *Other Roman Catholic Missions during the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries*

As we have already mentioned, the Franciscans carried on extensive missionary work in India even before the Jesuits, and more especially two branches of this widely diffused Order, the Observantes and the Reformati. Most unfortunately, their power was held in check for more than half a century, dating from 1580, by a most passionate quarrel concerning the establishment of an independent province of the Order of the Observantes in India. At the end of the seventeenth century there were 200 Observantes and 258 Reformati in the various Franciscan establishments in India and Ceylon. From 1548 onwards the Dominicans were also to be found in India in ever increasing numbers. Besides these two Orders we find Jesuits nearly everywhere (in addition to those engaged in the Madura Mission). All three Orders had their headquarters in the Portuguese colonies on the west and south coasts of India; they laboured principally within the Portuguese domain or spheres of influence. Such headquarters were the coast fortresses of Diu, Bassein, Shaul, Goa with its adjacent islands, the peninsulas of Salsette and Bardez, and the island of Karanja, Cochin, and Negapatam. It is perfectly astounding how strongly these places were manned. In Goa, for instance, there were first and foremost the magnificent headquarters of the Jesuits, their College with 130 fully ordained priests (in 1634), the adjacent House for those who had recently taken their vows with 30 inmates, as well as a House for Novitiates and a Seminary; then there was the Monastery of the Franciscan Observantists with 60 monks (about the year 1700) and a College, both institutions with chairs of theology and philosophy; the great Madre de Dios Monastery of the Franciscan Reformati; the St. Domingo Monastery of the Dominicans with 70 monks (in 1560); and just outside the gates of Goa the Novitiate Monastery of St. Thomas inhabited by 30 Dominicans, and acting as a kind of University, with five chairs of theology and philosophy;

the Monastery of the Augustinians with 50 monks (in 1600), near to which stood a nunnery, at that time the only one in India; the Monastery of the Carmelites (built in 1818), and the principal House of the Theatines. Thus in the halcyon days of Goa there must have been between 300 and 400 monks constantly in residence there. Some of them at any rate were occupied in shepherding the forcibly converted inhabitants of the town and island of Goa, the peninsulas of Salsette and Bardez, and the island of Karanja. It is barely conceivable that in spite of all this bitter complaints had to be made about the spiritual neglect of the people of Goa. "Although there were many monasteries and priests in Goa, yet the ignorance of the majority of the lower classes was such that they could not be admitted to the table of the Lord even in the hour of death, because the priests had not taken the trouble to instruct them, or perhaps because they were unequal to the exertion of hearing confessions" (Müllbauer, p. 352). Other Portuguese settlements were similarly rich in monasteries, churches, colleges, and various religious institutions; these coast towns literally swarmed with them. We should conclude that in such places the combination of the temporal power of the Portuguese and the large numbers of priests and monks would promote rapid progress in Christianising the populace; but we have no numerical results to go upon.

In direct contrast to these very strongly garrisoned coast towns are the few inland missions, which could not, however, depend to the same extent on Portuguese functionaries for protection. The Goa district was surrounded on the north, south, and east by the kingdom of Bijapur, and several thousands of the Goa Christians belonged to this kingdom, especially in the provinces immediately adjacent to Goa. At first the Jesuits attempted to obtain a foothold in this kingdom, the Muhammadan rulers of which were mostly inimical to Portugal; as they met with insuperable difficulties, however, owing to their European birth, they entrusted this work to a company of priests composed of converted Brahmans, the so-called Oratorians. The enterprise does not seem to have met with much success. Nor do the Jesuits appear to have been more fortunate in their labours begun in 1643 at Seitta Panaiche, a small kingdom in that Kanarese-speaking region which we to-day term the South Maratha country, for their work here was soon abandoned. The Theatine monks from 1641 to 1693 attempted to gain a footing in the then powerful kingdom of Golconda (hod. Hyderabad), but their work too met with manifold interruptions, and they were not numerous enough to carry it on to advantage. They founded, however, small scattered communities of native Chris-

tians at Masulipatam, Chicacole, Bimlipatam, and other places situated on a strip of the coast of the Central and Northern Telugu country, which was at that time partly under Portuguese influence. The duty of caring for these little companies subsequently passed into the hands of the Augustinians. This latter Order, taking as its base the Portuguese factory Hooghly, not far from the modern Calcutta, had undertaken an extensive series of operations in Lower Bengal. During the short golden age of this mission, in the first thirty years of the seventeenth century, its adherents stretched from Pipli in Orissa to Chittagong in Further India, and included 22,000 Christians in eleven large parishes. But even Roman Catholic authorities judge unfavourably of its promoters. "The churches are nearly in ruins, the monks are covetous and dissolute, they maintain a vast number of servants, are ignorant of all higher education and of the language of the people—although they spend three years in Hooghly in order to learn it" (Müllbauer, p. 343). Two other missionary enterprises of this period are of great interest. From the year 1707 Italian Capucines had been pressing through Nepal and Tibet, and at length they arrived at Lhasa and founded stations there, and at Takpo, as well as in the three chief towns of Nepal, Patan, Bhatgaon and Katmandu; their main bases for this very advanced work were Chandernagore on the Lower Hooghly, already in the hands of the French, and Patna on the lower Ganges. The other enterprise, and one that enjoyed much fame at the time, was the Jesuit mission to the court of the Great Moghul. The Emperor Akbar (1555–1605), the most kindly ruler in Muhammadan India, summoned the Jesuit fathers to his court in 1580, in order that he too might acquire a thorough knowledge of Christianity. He had created a kind of eclectic religion, taking elements from Islam, Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism, and all manner of Indian sects. This he called the "Ilahi" religion; it was a religion in which pure Deism was to find its expression in sun-worship and veneration of the Emperor. This mixed religion had already been completed and promulgated before the Jesuits reached Akbar's court. The latter was therefore not at all likely to desire to become a Christian and to be baptized. Nevertheless, the Director of the Jesuit Order issued instructions that priests were to remain at the court of the Great Moghul as long as possible, that they might be ready to seize any favourable opportunity of gaining influence. The mission was thus purely one connected with the court, and it limited itself almost exclusively to the pastoral oversight of the few Portuguese or other Christians who had been driven by evil chance to the court or the dominions of the Great Moghul. A

number of truly zealous and devoted Jesuits occupied this difficult post, such as Rudolfo Aquaviva (1580–1583) and Hieronimo Xavier, a nephew of Francisco Xavier (1595–1610?). So long as the magnanimous Akbar held the reins of power, things went on tolerably well; but under his vacillating successor, Jehangir, and the latter's fanatical Muhammadan successors, Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe, the work came to a complete standstill. The largest number of Christians seems never to have exceeded 100. "About the middle of the eighteenth century there existed five Christian churches in the Moghul Empire, two at Delhi, one at Agra, one at Marwar, and one at Jaipur, the last named without a missionary and almost without Christians" (Müllbauer, p. 287).

From the second half of the seventeenth century two circumstances operated unfavourably on the development of Roman Catholic missions. The first of these was the decline of the Portuguese power. About 1650 the Dutch obtained entire mastery over Ceylon. In 1658 they conquered the Jaffna district; during that same year they occupied Negapatam, Manar, and Tuticorin, whilst in 1662 Kranganur, in 1663 Cochin, and in 1681 Quilon fell into their hands. Everywhere they regarded the priests and monks, hand and glove with the Portuguese as these latter were, as their natural enemies; they drove them into exile, pulled down their monasteries, and seized their churches for their own use. In 1668 Bombay and the island of Salsette passed by inheritance to Charles II. of England, and in consequence of this the Franciscans in that region were compelled to beat a retreat. As far back as 1632 the Great Moghul, Shah Jehan, and his governor, Kasim Khan, had temporarily captured and pulled down the Portuguese port of Hooghly in remote Bengal, and had thereby inflicted a grievous blow on the Augustinian mission in that place. In 1739 the Marathas stormed all Portuguese ports north of Goa, and put an end to Portuguese dominion in those parts. Although Portuguese monks had been the pioneers of missionary work and service during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, their interest in missionary and ecclesiastical progress began to die down the moment the temporal power of the Portuguese began to decay. Monasteries which in better days had been manned by twenty-five or more monks, could now count on a bare half-dozen, whilst others stood entirely empty. The staff of workers barely sufficed to conserve the ground already won; further conquests were no longer thought of.

Furthermore, other territorial interests, particularly those of France and England, had grown powerful, and these nations

insisted upon the sending out of non-Portuguese as pastors of the native churches and as missionaries. Moreover, there had arisen beyond the borders of Portugal, especially in Italy and France, a lively interest in missions to India, and missionaries who were sent out from those countries were by no means disposed to swear allegiance to the King of Portugal or to allow themselves to be sent out by Portuguese organisations. It is true the Pope had in 1454 granted the King of Portugal an unlimited right of patronage over the entire Indian mission field; but in view of the altered position of affairs both the Pope and the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, a Society established in 1632, saw the urgent necessity of promoting mission work in India independent of Portugal. Portugal, on the other hand, regarded every attempt in that direction as an infringement of her rights, and sought to frustrate it by all kinds of intrigue and opposition. From 1630, therefore, we see new monkish organisations taking the field in opposition to Portugal, and the pages of Roman Catholic missionary history are henceforth filled with recitals of unedifying quarrels between Portugal and Rome, which later came to a head in the painful schism of Goa. The Italian Theatines had already suffered greatly by reason of this discord; after the failure of their other missionary ventures, they undertook in 1693 the pastoral care of the Romish Christians in the English station of Cuddalore. The Capucines, who were for the most part of French origin, and who had laboured since the year 1630 in Pondicherry and Madras, became in the "Accommodation Controversy" from 1703 onwards the most determined opponents of the methods of the Jesuits. Later they sought out a field far away from "these noises" in Nepal and Tibet. The Carmelites, resident in India from 1616, assumed pastoral oversight of the English possessions of Surat, Bombay, and above all of the Syrians united with Rome living in Travancore and Cochin, where we shall encounter them later.

(f) *The Struggles of the Syrian Church in Malabar and the Victory of the Romish Church.* 1498–1599[1]

Whilst Vasco da Gama and his followers did not find in South India (as many, basing their hopes on uncertain rumours and hearsay, had hoped) a great Christian empire, such as that of the fabulous Prester John, for instance, they did, however,

[1] Bibliography: Dr. W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomas-Christian, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der orientalischen Kirchen*, pp. 313–770; Collins, *Missionary Enterprise in the East with especial reference to the Syrian Christians of Malabar;* Buchanan, *Christian Researches.*

discover there a very ancient, comparatively strong, and highly respected Christian Church. Now for the first time detailed and trustworthy reports about it began gradually to percolate into Europe; at length we see this ancient Church, though it must be understood that our view of it is obtained by looking through the spectacles of Roman Catholic priests and bishops. Those Indian Christians, who call themselves Thomas Christians—after their greatly revered and venerated Apostle Thomas—live almost exclusively on that part of the Malabar coast between Calicut in the north and Quilon in the south; the little groups found farther to the north or south of the district lying between those two towns are offshoots of the parent body. Within that region they are found most numerously on the strip of land between Kranganur and Aleppey, reaching from the seacoast to the western spurs of the Ghats. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was estimated that they comprised 30,000 families, or about 150,000 souls. The far-famed and numerous community found in earlier times in the neighbourhood of the shrines of St. Thomas at Milapur would appear to have been wholly dispersed. The Portuguese found the Malabar coast rent and torn asunder into countless little, and less than little, kingdoms and principalities, such as the kingdom of the Samuri of Calicut, those of Cochin, Pimenta, Parua, Porca, Mangate, Muterte, Wadakenkur, Tekkenkur, Travancore, and others, most of them no larger than the smallest of the "plum" States of Germany, and generally at war one with another. The tradition was still extant among the Christians that they had at no very distant date formed an independent kingdom, and they still preserved the sceptre of their last "king." In the meantime they had lost their political independence, and were scattered up and down the various small principalities, often oppressed and downtrodden, but yet on the whole a highly respected and wealthy class. Although politically rent asunder, they clung firmly to their ecclesiastical unity. From the most ancient times they had regarded the Nestorian Patriarch of the East, who then resided at Mosul or Gazerta, as their supreme spiritual head; but for centuries no Nestorian bishops appear to have been sent from Mesopotamia to Malabar. It so happened that in the year 1490—that is, a few years before the arrival of the Portuguese—the Catholikos Mar Simeon had consecrated two men both bearing the name of Joseph Rabban, as Bishops for India and China. He gave them the appellations Bishop Thomas and Bishop John, and dispatched them to Malabar. His successor Elias (who took office in 1502) had ordained (1503) two further bishops, Mar Denha and Mar Jacob, and a third, Iballaha, as Metropolitan. These

five Syrians were received in Malabar with great rejoicing; and the old ecclesiastical ties were thereby renewed, even though at so late an hour. Unfortunately the Nestorian Church in Mesopotamia was weakened by inward strife during the sixteenth century. The Patriarch who died in 1551 left behind only a relative named Simeon, who was, however, unpopular. It had been the rule for more than a century in the Nestorian Church for the Patriarch to be chosen from the immediate connections of his predecessor. The Eastern Nestorians therefore recognised Simeon, and his successors, all bearing the name Simeon, have ever since been acknowledged as the heads of the Syrian Nestorians in Kurdistan and Urmia. But the Western Nestorians chose John Sulaka as a rival Patriarch (1552), and he, in order to assure his position, threw himself into the arms of the Romish Church (1553). Both branches of the Nestorians, the older under Patriarch Simeon, and the one newly united with Rome, now exercised the right of ordaining bishops for Malabar, and the intrigues of the Romish Propaganda made harvest of the rivalry of the two bishops and worked with might and main to win the whole of the Church of Malabar over to Rome. Only two bishops of Malabar are of note in the sixteenth century, Mar Jacob (probably 1503–1549) and Mar Abraham (1557–1596 or 1597).

The Thomas Christians retained Syrian as the language of the Church with great tenacity, although Malayalam was the general language of the countryside. Only Syrian books were used, amongst them being several very ancient and valuable MSS. of the Peschito. It is noteworthy that these MSS. lacked the Books of Esther, Tobias, the Wisdom of Solomon, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and the Revelation, as well as John viii. 1–11 (*re* the adulteress) and 1 John v. 7 (the three witnesses), and in other places they showed striking divergence from the text commonly received amongst ourselves. The churches were for the most part very old, not unlike those of Europe, frequently having high vaulted roofs, and being decorated with large and often very old crosses. On the other hand, there were no pictures of saints; the only saints they honoured were the fathers of the Nestorian Church. They observed three sacraments—baptism, Holy Communion, and ordination to the priesthood. The Lord's Supper they administered in both kinds; but before handing the bread to the communicant the priest dipped it in the wine. Instead of grape wine, which could not be obtained, they made use of juice pressed from raisins, previously steeped in water, or even the ordinary palm wine of the country. They had no confirmation, no auricular confession, no extreme unction. Further, and this is particularly noteworthy, they had no

monachism—no monks, no nuns, no monasteries. Withal they maintained a well ordered church discipline, which was exercised by the priests in the presence of the whole congregation, and their ban fell heavily on all evil-doers in civil as well as in church life. A beautiful and greatly beloved custom was that of the "love-feast" (Nercha), at the celebration of which many thousands of Christians frequently assembled. It was a good sign, too, that girls who were poor (and as, according to the Syrian custom, girls had no right of inheritance, there were many such) were endowed either by members of the congregation or from the church funds. The Syrian Christians ate only fish and herbs on Wednesdays and Fridays; on the other hand, they did not regard Saturday as a fast day. Mass was said every Sunday, though it was not a strict rule of the Church that the congregations should assemble in the churches to hear it. It is worthy of special note that there existed a very numerous body of native priests (Kattanars) and deacons (Shammas), who were required to attain a certain degree of education, and, in particular, a knowledge of the Syrian language, though it must be admitted this education was not of a very high order. In many families the spiritual calling had been hereditary from time immemorial, especially in the Palamattam family at Korolongata. In addition to this, the priests were proud of and insisted on the national character of their Church. From the Palamattam family was always chosen the archdeacon, the most influential of all the priests save the bishop sent from Mesopotamia. Most of the priests were married; many even married a second time; and their wives were held in the greatest esteem.

It must be admitted, however, that there was a considerable amount of compromise with the usages and ideas of the surrounding heathen; marriages were often celebrated when one or both parties were only nine or ten years of age; cases of polygamy were not unknown; Sunday labour was not infrequent; children were seldom baptized before their fortieth day, and often it was a case of months and years; in the remoter districts there were whole families who had never been baptized. Pride in the high caste accorded to the Syrians in virtue of their Christianity was so great that they avoided all intercourse with the lowest castes, and discountenanced and sought to prevent the conversion of members of low castes to Christianity. Within the memory of man they had never carried on any kind of missionary activity. The Syrian Church was thus as it were a foreign body, wholly self-contained, in the midst of the heathen populace of Malabar, and for that very reason the more tenacious of its customs and traditions.

At first the Thomas Christians, accustomed as they had

been for long centuries to the oppression of Hindu princes, welcomed the Portuguese as their saviours from peril and as their natural allies. In the spring of 1502, when Vasco da Gama sailed for the second time to the East Indies, he cast anchor in the harbour at Cochin, and a deputation of the Thomas Christians waited upon him to place themselves under the protection of the King of Portugal and to beg of these new comrades in the faith aid against their oppressors. The Portuguese desired nothing better than to make the strong communities of native Christians a strategic base for their nascent colonial empire. So for a time ecclesiastical differences were overlooked, and friendly relations were established; in all the treaties with the native princes special regard was paid to the Christians. At Kranganur, Cochin, and Quilon Portuguese factories and forts were established. And Bishop Mar Jacobus, who for forty-five long years had held a position of great influence among the Thomas Christians, was so well disposed towards the Portuguese, and cherished for them down to the day of his death in 1549 such boundless confidence that on his death-bed (as we saw on p. 33) he handed over to the Portuguese Governor of Cochin, Pedro de Sequeira, the precious Privilege Tablets which were of simply incalculable value to his Church. Of course even at this early date attempts at Roman Catholic propaganda were not unknown. In the year 1500 Simão da Guimaraes, a Franciscan who had come over with Cabral's fleet, had applied himself to the Thomas Christians with extraordinary zeal. Half a century later we find a Dominican, Rodrigo de Sousa, endeavouring to compel the Church under his care at Quilon to celebrate mass in Latin. In 1593 a zealous Franciscan, Vincenz, arrived in Malabar and founded a seminary at Kranganur, to train up a new generation of Syrian priests in the spirit and atmosphere of Rome; his plan only came to naught because neither he himself nor his brethren in the Order could understand or teach the language of the Syrian Church, and therefore the youths whom they trained were rejected by the Thomas Christians. About 1550 the Portuguese made a decided change in their policy both civil and ecclesiastical with regard to the Thomas Christians. The bold plan was conceived of making them pliant tools in the hands of the Portuguese by thoroughly reforming their Church according to Roman Catholic ideas. To accomplish this it was necessary either to get possession of the person of the bishops of the Church or to set them wholly aside. After the death of the feeble Mar Jacobus there ensued a wild game of intrigue, strategy, deception, violence, and mendacity, which extended over the entire latter half of the sixteenth century, and which

composes one of the darkest chapters in the history of the Romish Church. The Jesuits were everywhere the moving spirits and the most unscrupulous of agents. Very many of the details we possess concerning this period are involved and unreliable, because, strangely enough, many Romish historians (at their head Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, vol. ii.) have painted the condition of things as even darker than it now appears in reality to have been. In the year 1555 Mar Joseph was consecrated Bishop of the Thomas Christians by the Patriarch Ebed Jesu, Sulaka's successor; but in 1556 he was seized in Cochin, taken by force to Goa, and then put on a ship bound for Portugal, whence he was transported to Rome, and later to Bassein near Bombay, where he was interned in the monastery of the Franciscans. In 1558 he again reached his see at Angamale; but in 1567 he was for the second time taken prisoner, and again transported to Rome, where he appears to have been done to death. In 1559 a second bishop, Mar Abraham, turned up; but either in that same year or the following one he was forcibly apprehended, to be likewise instantly sent off to Portugal. Mar Abraham would appear after a time to have turned round and to have been consecrated as Archbishop in Rome, and in opposition to him there appeared in 1582 a rival bishop, Mar Simeon. He too was craftily taken prisoner, and deported to Rome *via* Goa and Portugal; he died either in the dungeons of the Inquisition or at the stake, probably after a seventeen years' imprisonment (1599). After a first unsuccessful attempt to have him removed, the Jesuits left Mar Abraham, the Archbishop, in office until his death, but only because he was slavishly subservient to all their designs, and against his conscience submitted to and abetted their romanising efforts.

Whilst the spiritual leaders of the Thomas Christians were thus removed by violence, the Roman Catholics were obtaining a firm foothold in the country. At Cochin a Roman Catholic bishopric was founded in 1557, and occupied first by a Dominican and then by a Franciscan. In the period that elapsed after Mar Jacob's death in 1549, an attempt was made to smuggle in a Romish bishop, Ambrosius Theseus de Montecoeli (?) among the Thomas Christians by calling him the "coadjutor and successor" of a certain newly appointed Archbishop Elias; he died, however, at Goa in 1557. The Jesuits chose Vaipikota, near Cochin, for their headquarters, and founded there in 1581 a large seminary for priests, in which, profiting by the failure of the Franciscans, they insisted on the study of the language of the Syrian Church. They further founded in 1579 a Malabar printing establishment at Cochin, which was by no means

intended to publish and circulate the valuable historical and ecclesiastical writings of the Thomas Christians, but rather to spread far and wide amongst them, by means of the printed word, Romish thoughts and ideas. The Jesuits preached, catechised, and did pastoral work wherever they chose. In 1585, at the third Provincial Council at Goa, they won a formal but complete victory over the Syrian Church; the Archbishop, Mar Abraham, now advanced in years, was forced to abjure his Nestorian errors and to give his assent to all decrees that should be passed with a view to reformation in his diocese. But even this did not satisfy the Romanists.

When Mar Abraham died, at the end of the year 1595 or early in 1596, a new Archbishop had just arrived in Goa. This was Alexio de Menezes, a man as strong in character as he was unscrupulous in morals. He was firmly determined to shake down the fruit which had now been ripening for fully half a century and to make the Syrian Church an integral part of that of Rome. Stern orders were issued to all the Portuguese ports on the Indian Ocean that no Nestorian bishop hailing from Mesopotamia and bound for Malabar should be allowed to proceed on his journey. These orders actually forced a bishop who had travelled as far as Ormuz to return by the way he had come; another, avoiding the Portuguese ports by journeying through North India, died in 1600 at Lahore. Thus the Thomas Christians found themselves without a bishop; and Menezes succeeded so well, by threats and bribes, by cunning and main force, in silencing the influential Archdeacon George, who had been appointed by Mar Abraham, that he, George, was never able to summon up courage to make a decided stand against the strong-handed prelate. George declared, it is true, that he would never swear to the Roman confession of faith, nor submit either to the Pope or to the Archbishop of Goa; and an important Synod at Angamale took a solemn oath never to allow any modification in matters of creed, and not to recognise any other bishop than the one sent by the Nestorian Patriarch. Menezes, however, himself hastened to Malabar, won over several of the more important chiefs to his side by political negotiations, gained by a skilfully assumed air of condescension and by suitable presents a number of the more influential Kattanars and many highly respected laymen, obtained for himself a majority in the priesthood by ordaining without scruple more than ninety young priests, who of course became creatures of his own, and with every adjunct of magnificent and princely display made a triumphal progress through the country. After these preparations he summoned the famous Synod of

Diamper (or Udayamperur, two hours distant from Cochin), which was held from the 20th to the 28th of June 1599, and attended by 153 Kattanars and 660 laymen. Menezes brought his very compendious decree (it contained 220 pages large quarto !) all ready with him, and used his craft and authority to such purpose that it was accepted, signed, and sworn to, practically without alteration.

After this the old Syrian Church was thoroughly reformed after the Romish model. Scarcely a relic of its ancient ecclesiastical usages was retained except the Church language, which was kept for the time being, for expediency's sake. The old Church literature had either to submit to thorough emendation, in the Romish sense, or be burnt. It is to this vandalism that we must attribute the scarcity of reliable information concerning the earlier history of the Thomas Church. The celibacy of the clergy was introduced, and the hitherto lawful marriages and happy family life of the Kattanars mercilessly broken up. Confirmation, communion in one kind, statues of the saints on altars and church walls, and, above all, the unpopular auricular confession—in short, all distinctive Romish rites and ordinances, were introduced without the slightest comprehension of the historical uniqueness of the ancient Church. In saying this we must not overlook the fact that the synodical decree put an end to many abuses and made many changes for the better. Thus the Syrian Church was divided into seventy-five parishes, and fast-binding parochial ordinances were made; the marriageable age for young men was fixed at fourteen, and for young women at twelve; arrangements were made for the pastoral care of the scattered and isolated congregations in the mountains and in the south; and an active missionary propaganda was inculcated.

In connection with the Synod a careful general visitation of all the churches throughout the country was entered upon, during which the new ordinances were introduced to every church and congregation. To crown the whole work, the Jesuit Roz was in 1601 appointed Head of the Syrian Church, and consecrated as Bishop of Angamale, and in 1605 Archbishop of Kranganur—a new position, designed to replace the old bishopric of Angamale. This archbishopric was further so demarcated from the elder diocese of Cochin (created in 1557) that it assumed the oversight of the old Syrian Church in the serras (hill country) and of the Jesuit Mission at Madura, whilst the Bishop of Cochin superintended the congregations gathered by Jesuit missionaries at Travancore and on the Fisher coast.

(g) *The Schism in the Syrian Church and the Subsequent Development of the Separated Churches*

During the following half-century all movement was retrogressive. Whereas from 1550 to 1596 the influence of the Jesuits and the Church of Rome had gradually increased to such an extent that finally it appeared to have entirely overwhelmed the older Church, there now developed decade by decade a secret animosity against the Jesuits, and an estrangement between the Syrian Church on the one hand and the Portuguese and the Church of Rome on the other. It is true that in 1602 an Archbishop sent by the Patriarch of Babylon was unable to procure for himself any recognition, and was quickly sent about his business by main force. But by 1620 serious dissensions had broken out. Archbishop Roz, on the eve of a long tour, had appointed the Rector of the Jesuit College at Vaipikota as Vicar-General, and had thereby mortally offended the aged Archdeacon George. The latter, with the greater number of the Thomas Christians, disowned the Archbishop and exercised for four years all episcopal rights himself. Only with great difficulty was this discord brought to an end. Under Roz's successors, Etienne de Brito (1624–1641) and the courageous but ambitious Francisco Garzia (1641–1659), matters came to a yet more serious pass. The Jesuits felt themselves the actual masters of the country; they bestowed no consideration on the native Kattanars, they attacked their rights and interfered with the just discharge of their duties, and gradually they endeavoured to replace even the Syrian language of the Church by the Latin—with which they were, of course, better acquainted—in order to win over one parish after another, one congregation after another. They were so little loved, nay so detested, that in 1628 Archdeacon George made a direct request of the Pope to allow Dominicans to work in the country as well as Jesuits, and to appoint a Dominican who was well known to be thoroughly cognisant with Syrian, Francisco Donato, to be coadjutor and successor to Etienne de Brito. The Jesuits, all-powerful in Rome as well as in India, were able to foil this project. In 1632 a Synod at Eddapally (Rapolin) addressed a complaint to the King of Spain and Portugal to the effect that the subsidies sent out by the king were never distributed to the indigenous priests, and that the Archbishop filled up vacancies amongst the clergy in purely arbitrary fashion and contrary to all precedent. It was the dull rolling of thunder in the distance, giving notice of the near approach of a storm. In the year 1653 a new bishop, named Atalla (*i.e.* Theodore or Ahatalla), who had been consecrated by the

Nestorian Patriarch, arrived in India *via* Surat and Milapur. On August 3rd, 1653, he was recognised by the Portuguese in the Thomas Church at Milapur, was taken into custody, transported by sea to Goa, and there delivered up to the Inquisition and burnt at the stake. The Thomas Christians, who at the first news of his capture had marched to Cochin armed and 25,000 strong, in order to set Atalla free when his ship touched there, were told that he had been drowned during transshipment in the roadstead off Cochin. At the news of this fresh deed of violence the Christians rose *en masse* and assembled at Matanger (Muttancherry), near Cochin. There they swore a most solemn oath, at the foot of the cross before the church, that no Jesuit should ever again be recognised as bishop in their country, that all Jesuits should be driven out of the land, and that the Archbishop of Kranganur should never again show his face in their midst. A few weeks later, the Council of a convent at Mangate (Alangata), on the strength of a letter written by Atalla shortly before his deportation, took the unheard-of step of ordaining as bishop Archdeacon Thomas, George's successor. Of the 200,000 Thomas Christians only a paltry 400 remained true in Rome. Such was the net result of 100 years of intrigue, oppression, and violence on the part of the Jesuits.

By this one event the Romish See saw the entire success of 150 years' work put in the balance. It adopted what was perhaps the wisest policy under the circumstances: Archbishop Francisco Garzia was deposed, all consideration for the Jesuits was put on one side, and four barefoot friars (Carmelites) were instantly dispatched to Malabar with instructions to rescue for Rome all that it was still possible to rescue. Concessions were then made to the Thomas Christians: secular clergy—such as were the Kattanars without exception, in contradistinction to the monks of the various European orders—were made eligible for all ecclesiastical offices; as far as possible only native priests were to hear auricular confession, etc. The Carmelites were received in Malabar with suspicion, and by the majority with enmity. But they went to work very skilfully; they negotiated with the Portuguese, with the irregularly ordained bishop, with the Kattanars and with the congregations; they were tireless in the tours which they made from one end of the country to the other, holding conferences and synods wherever they went. One of them—an Italian, Joseph of Santa Maria—was created bishop in 1659. The native bishop, Mar Thomas, was once within an ace of falling into their hands, having been enticed into their immediate neighbourhood under pretext of negotiations by word of mouth. And the end of

these machinations, which were frequently the reverse of honourable, was that eighty-four congregations again joined the Church of Rome, thirty-two only maintaining their independence. Since that time the former have borne the name of the "United Syrians" of the "Romo-Syrian Church," and the others have retained their original designation, "the Thomas Christians,"—or sometimes simply the "Syrians." This was, for Rome, concealing defeat by victory; but for Portugal it was too late. The very year of the Diamper Synod, when the Portuguese State and Church were at the very zenith of their power beneath the rule—soon to become the viceregal rule—of Menezes, was the turning-point of its whole colonial history. In 1600 were founded the two great commercial East India Companies, the Dutch and the English—in whose hands lay the future of Asia. The seventeenth century was the epoch of Dutch colonial expansion and conquest. By their conquest of Colombo (May 12th, 1656) the last Portuguese position in Ceylon fell into their hands. In 1658 they captured Manar, Tuticorin, and Negapatam; in 1661, Quilon, the most southern port of Malabar; in 1662, Kranganur; and on January 6th, 1663, Cochin, the last Portuguese stronghold on the Malabar coast. By these losses the supremacy of Portugal was definitely overthrown. If the Portuguese had hoped to find in the Thomas Christians a firm base from which they might proceed to the conquest and dominion of all India, they had only their own crooked policy and that of the Jesuits to thank for it, that the Thomas Christians would not raise a finger to save them from their downfall. From this time forward the Syrian Church, the United Syrians as well as the Thomas Christians, disappears from the realm of politics in which, greatly to its own detriment, it had played so important a part for a century and a half.

In the newly acquired ports the Dutch at once proceeded to the most extreme measures against the Romanist missionaries and priests and against the churches and monasteries they had erected. All the European clergy were banished from the land and their churches and homes levelled with the ground. Only the wily Carmelites, and of them only the most influential, were able by strategy and falsehood and, at times, by cleverly making the most of their scientific fads and hobbies, to secure the protection of the new lords of the country. Actually to remain in the land themselves they did not at first dare to hope; but their bishop, Joseph, before taking his departure, consecrated to the episcopacy Alexander a Campo, a Malabarese Kattanar belonging to the old and respected priestly family of the Palamattams of Korolongata. However, as early as 1673 the

Dutch Governor, Hendrick Adrian van Rheede (1669–1677) accorded the Carmelites permission, upon a tablet of brass, to found a great establishment for their Order one and a half miles to the north of Cochin. They therefore erected one in a grove of palms (Paramba, near Tattaraceri) which had been presented to them by the Rajah of Cochin. In missionary literature the place, so shortly to become famous, is known as Verapoli. The favour shown by the Dutch officials to the Carmelites soon proved to be of advantage to the United (Romish) Syrians also. In all their treaties with native rajahs, especially with the Rajah of Cochin, the Dutch insisted upon their being recognised as the protectors of the United Syrians. As this prerogative included not only supreme jurisdiction over the Christians and powers of sequestration over the whole of their property, but likewise a right of revision with regard to all new taxes which the various rajahs might levy upon their Christian subjects, they were thus endowed with far-reaching influence upon the Christian congregations. They exercised it on the whole both with moderation and justice, so that in this respect the Roman Catholic Christians enjoyed a highly advantageous peace—vastly different from the condition of the Thomas Christians, who were distrusted and held at a distance by the Dutch, and who therefore were able to defend themselves from the oppression and extortions of the numerous native rulers only with the greatest difficulty.

Nevertheless, the following century was not a happy one even for the Romish congregations. During the first decades they were under bishops born in India, as Europeans were no longer allowed to exercise episcopal functions. Roman Catholic historians flatter themselves that their Church was the first to give native bishops to India. Their experience, however, of such bishops was far from encouraging. The first, Alexander, was a weak, uneducated fellow, whose sole claim to respect was that he belonged to the highly respected family of the Palamattams. When, in 1677, Rafael Figuerade Salgado, a Portuguese born in Cochin, was appointed as his coadjutor, the Palamattams took offence, and strove against the Carmelites both with poison and with treachery. Rafael himself, a crafty and ambitious man, no sooner felt his authority assured than he turned sharp round upon his patrons the Carmelites, and endeavoured to make their very existence miserable by every means in his power. Rafael's enmity and open-handed opposition caused the Carmelites to implore Rome (1687) for another coadjutor, who should be ready at any time to step into the episcopal chair. In the meantime the aged Alexander had appointed his relative, George a Campo, Vicar-General, in the

hope that in due time the latter might succeed to his own bishopric. Rafael, however, defended himself energetically from all these rivals, and contrary to all justice and church discipline excommunicated George. There were thus three parties, that of the Carmelites, that of Rafael, and that of the two a Campos, all of them violently opposed to one another. After Rafael's death in 1695, his successor, Custodius, a former Brahman—who, however, died in 1696—was equally unwelcome to the Carmelites. Thus it was a good thing when in 1698, on the intervention of the Emperor Leopold of Austria, the Dutch granted permission for a European Carmelite to be appointed bishop. The only title open to him was that of Apostolic Vicar, for the Jesuit Archbishops of Kranganur still laid claim to the episcopal office in the Syrian Church; he had, however, both the rank and the jurisdiction of a bishop; his see was the already mentioned Verapoli. Thus Verapoli became the see of a newly created bishopric held by a European. The Carmelites were fortunate, at any rate for a time, in the choice of their bishops. The first, Peter Paul of Palma, was highly respected both in India and in Europe, being simultaneously agent and ambassador extraordinary of the Emperor Leopold in Persia and in the Moghul Empire. He died in the year 1700, however. The second bishop, Angelus Franciscus (1700–1710), and the third, John the Baptist, Bishop of Limira *in partibus* (1714–1750), served the United Syrians very well indeed.

Yet once again, two powerful enemies from without confronted these men also, making their lives bitter indeed. The Jesuits, it is true, had been discarded by the Pope in 1653, *sans cérémonie*, and Archbishop Francisco Garzia, a member of their Order, had been deposed. But this combative and unscrupulous Society was the last in the world to calmly abandon the rich spoils of the Syrian Church to the Carmelites. They were resolved at any cost to regain the influence they had lost in Malabar. In view of the political convulsion of the country and the petty jealousies of the various rajahs, it did not prove a difficult task to erect headquarters for their machinations, to replace those they had lost at Vaipikota. They erected a new Jesuit Seminary at Ambalacada, a town in the dominions of the Samorin of Calicut, but lying very close to the districts in which the densest Christian population resided; and they further strengthened their position by founding the two adjacent stations of Pucotta and Puttencherry. Their influence became still more minatory when they allied themselves with another and yet more dangerous enemy of the Carmelites. By the Bull of 1600, "In supremo militantis ecclesiæ solio," the rights of patronage over the bishopric of Cochin as well as over the

archbishopric of Kranganur had been handed over to the Crown of Portugal. When the colonial power of Portugal had melted away like a mirage, both the civic and ecclesiastical authorities still clung to this gleam of a vanished glory, and the King of Portugal steadfastly maintained his right to appoint the Archbishops of Kranganur and the Bishops of Cochin. This was quite harmless, so long as the bishops were merely titular dignitaries, who were not allowed to set foot within their dioceses. But it became a serious matter when the Jesuits allied themselves with the Crown of Portugal in order to have members of their Order nominated to both sees, and used this semblance of right in order to regain by craft and main force their ascendancy over the United Syrians. Against Archbishops João Ribeiro (1701–1716), Antonio Pimentel (1721–1752), Alois de Vasconcelles (1753–1755), and Salvator a Regibus (1756–1777) of Kranganur, and Bishops François de Vasconcelles (1721–1743) and Clement Jose Leitão (1745–1778) of Cochin, the Carmelites waged long and fearful war. It is a strange spectacle to see the two Orders engaged for seventy-five long years in the direst conflict. The Jesuits fought with any and every kind of weapon, irrespective of honour or fame. If the Syrians, as a result of their former doleful experiences, had not had such an inborn antipathy to the Jesuits, the issue of the fight would have been still more serious. Only with the suppression of the Order of Jesuits by Pope Clement XIV. did this dangerous rivalry come to an end. But even then the Carmelites were not to enjoy the spoils of victory. Incited by the example of the Thomas Christians, who were growing in every direction under the rule of their native bishops, the United Syrian Church was seized (in 1787) with an ardent desire to have a native Malabarese as bishop. So clamorously and rebelliously did they demand this, that the Carmelites had to summon the Dutch and even the heathen rajahs to their aid, in order to bring their congregations into subjection!

The history of the Thomas Christians, however, was likewise far from encouraging. After the schism they had made Archdeacon Thomas their bishop by a somewhat remarkable method of procedure. This Thomas belonged to the main branch of the Palamattam family of Korolongata. Now in former times it had certainly been the hereditary privilege of this family to have the archdeacons selected from amongst its members; the bishops had generally been, or ought to have been, men consecrated by the Nestorian Patriarch himself—*i.e.* they were mostly Mesopotamians. Now, however, the Palamattam family went a step farther and claimed the episcopal dignity as its right

also. From 1653 down to the end of the eighteenth century an unbroken line of seven or eight Thomas a Campos had occupied the see, the last few of them bearing the episcopal designation of Mar Dionysius. But there had arisen a great difficulty. It was one of the firm, inviolable traditions of this ancient Church that a bishop could only be consecrated by another bishop or by some still more elevated dignitary. Where was this ordinatory bishop always to be found? That was the ever recurring question. In the first instance, in the case of Mar Thomas I. (1665)—called by his admirers "the Great"—a bishop named Mar Gregor was discovered, who had been sent out by the Jacobite Patriarch at Mardin, and he performed the ceremony of consecration; and thereby the unexpected happened, an occurrence still wholly inexplicable: the entire community of the Thomas Christians, who from time immemorial, probably from the days of their founders, had been Nestorians, quietly and silently became Jacobites. The entire proceeding, both on account of the suddenness with which it was carried out, as well as of its, apparently, wholly peaceful character, is enigmatical. For even in an Oriental Church such a conversion from one extreme to the other, from dyophisitism to eutychianism, is without all precedent. The same difficulty arose about the consecration of each successive bishop. In 1685 there arrived at one and the same time three important Jacobite bishops, amongst them a Maphrian,—the highest dignitary after the Patriarch,—but they set to work in a very unlovable fashion to reform the congregations, and the Maphrian was far more anxious to be recognised as bishop himself than to ordain Mar Thomas to the office. In 1747 a certain Mar Johannes crossed over in a Dutch ship from Basra in order to perform the ceremony of consecration; but he stole the silver vessels from the churches, stormed and thundered against the images of Christ and against the crosses—and departed without ordaining Mar Thomas! In 1751 the Mar Thomas of that day ordered from the Dutch East India Company, at a cost of 4000 rupees, a consecrating bishop! Three were soon on the spot: the first, Basilius Shekerallah, who was appointed by the Jacobite Patriarch "Archbishop of Malabar" (*N.B.* for 28 congregations!); the second, Gregory John, who wanted to be "Metropolitan"; and a third, by name Namentallah. The three Syrian prelates made themselves at home in Malabar; they lived on the best of everything at the expense of the well-to-do congregations, but not until 1772—that is, after a residence of twenty-one years—did it occur to them to consecrate poor Mar Thomas.

It was, however, a far more vexatious and serious matter

when the Nestorians began making persistent efforts to regain possession of the province they had lost. Probably Mar Simon was an emissary of theirs as early as 1701. He was captured by the Carmelites, imprisoned for twenty years in Pondicherry, and mysteriously died in a monastery there in the year 1720.

More dangerous were the machinations of the Nestorian, Mar Gabriel (1705–1730), who, now in the guise of a zealous adherent of Rome, now as a kindly and conciliatory friend of the Jacobites, won so considerable an influence amongst United Syrians and Thomas Christians alike that at one time the former were on the point of renouncing Rome and attaching themselves to Mar Gabriel. Forty-two congregations—that is, half the Romo-Syrians—cast in their lot for a short time with him, and the Jacobite bishop felt the ground so shaky beneath his feet that he wrote again and again to the Jacobite Patriarch begging for priests of learning to be sent to carry on the fight with Mar Gabriel. He wrote in vain, for his letters fell into the hands of conceited Dutch savants (Professors Schaaf, father and son) who plumed themselves more than a little in the scientific world upon this Syrian correspondence, but were withal so ignorant that they did not even know the place of residence of the Patriarch of Antioch. Mar Gabriel, however, died, and the danger passed over.

Whilst both the Syrian Churches were thus distraught by internal unrest, strife, and division, there came a great change over the world of politics. The Dutch had not recognised the importance of the ports of Malabar for the domination of India; in 1746 a Dutch Governor-General even wrote to Cochin that he wished the sea had devoured all Malabar a hundred years before. They were therefore content to allow the little and hitherto unimportant state of Travancore, by a long succession of generally victorious expeditions carried on between 1733 and 1761, to unite under its rule all the tiny states into which Southern Malabar had hitherto been divided, and to build up therefrom a by no means despicable kingdom. This brought under the rule of these rajahs of Travancore almost the entire Christian Church of Malabar. It is gratifying to be able to add that, after a short period of destruction during which many old churches were destroyed, the rajahs were for the most part friendly to the Syrian Churches, and they particularly manifested their favour to the Romo-Syrians. More terrible was the fearful hurricane let loose upon the north of Malabar by the upstart Haidar Ali and his fanatical son, Tipu Sahib. Haidar Ali conquered the whole of the west coast from Mangalore to Kranganur in the years 1762–1766; but at any rate we can

affirm that he was at least tolerant towards the Christians. On April 15th, 1790, however, his bloodthirsty son Tipu Sahib broke upon the Christian districts to the south and south-east of Kranganur, and for five weeks raged hither and thither with unspeakable cruelty. Twenty-seven churches, amongst them many of the finest and most ancient in the country, were burnt to the ground. Partly by the sword of the ruthless Muhammadans, partly by the diseases which followed in the wake of the invader, there died at this time, according to contemporary estimates, fully one-tenth of all the Thomas Christians. From this knock-down blow, inflicted upon the venerable and ancient Church by the barbarity of fanatics, it has never recovered; its wealth had vanished. It was fortunate that the English as allies of the Rajah of Travancore regarded the incursion of the wild hordes of Tipu Sahib as a *casus belli* and that they immediately dispatched an army to Tipu's capital. Consequently he was obliged to withdraw his troops from Travancore as quickly as possible. The English attack it was, therefore, which prevented the two Syrian Churches from complete annihilation.

Five years later, in 1795, the English captured Cochin, and this proved the death-blow to the rather tame Dutch colonial power in Malabar. The Dutch had had far too much of the small tradesman about them, they never rose to an understanding of their mighty opportunities and duties in India. None lamented them when their dominion came to a sudden end.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Latin Christians in Malabar (*i.e.* those who were entirely romanised and who had abandoned the Syrian language in church services) numbered about 100,000; the Roman Catholic Syrians, who retained the Syrian language in the churches as well as other Syrian customs, 90,000; and the Jacobite Syrians, 50,000. The last named possessed 32–35 churches, and the adherents of Rome some 85.[1] As we have it on the best authority that the population of the entire district inhabited by the Christians did not exceed two millions, it would thus appear that the Christians with 240,000 souls composed about 12 per cent. of the entire community.

[1] This is the estimate of Paulinus in 1787. Bishop Middleton in 1816 found 66 Roman Catholic Syrian churches, and 18 belonging to the Latin Christians, with a net total of 80,000 adherents, in the diocese of Verapoli (Germann, p. 635). Fenn the missionary reckoned the independent Syrians in 1818 at 70,000 (*ibid.* p. 646), and Bishop Wilson of Calcutta in 1835 at 100,000 souls (*ibid.* p. 695).

(h) *The Decline of Roman Catholic Missions*

The number of Roman Catholic Christians in India at the close of the seventeenth century is said to have been two and a half millions; this is one of the tremendous numbers which we come across now and again in the histories of Roman missions. All means of checking them are lacking in the materials at our disposal, and so far as we know it has never been attempted. In the Madura Mission, their most brilliant achievement of the seventeenth century, it was computed, as we have already remarked, that they had about 150,000 adherents in the year 1703 (Müllbauer, p. 237), of whom, however, we can only verify 46,482. In 1750, or half a century later, Florentius, a reputedly zealous bishop of the divided Syrian Church in Travancore and coadjutor of Malabar, states that there were about 150,000 who belonged to the Romish Church (Germann, p. 519). To this must be added the great Portuguese colonies at Goa, Diu, Bassein, Cochin, Negapatam, etc., in which, according to Dubois, four-fifths of the entire population was nominally Roman Catholic (*Basle Missionary Magazine*, 1818, p. 158). The Christian congregations of the Augustinian missions in Bengal numbered in those their best days, 22,000 Christians. And then we have also the nominally Christian masses of Ceylon. Therefore it is by no means impossible that in the year 1701 there should have existed about 2,000,000 nominal Catholic Christians in India and Ceylon. However, during the course of the eighteenth century there ensued such a rapid, such a hopeless collapse of Roman Catholic missionary effort that by the close of the century nothing was left of it save ruins. Four principal factors contributed to bring about this rapid downfall.

In the first place, Romish missions had advanced along with the colonial extension of the Portuguese. The King of Portugal enjoyed rights of patronage over all bishoprics, cures, and missionary appointments. No missionary might journey to India without a Portugese permit, none land there save from a Portuguese ship. A claim was even raised that no papal decretal should carry legal weight in India unless stamped with a Portuguese "placet" (*Allgem. Miss. Zeitschrift*, 1903, p. 522). Exactly in proportion to the advantage derived from this union of Church and State as long as the star of Portugal was in the ascendant, was the extremely serious condition of things the moment that star began to decline. We have already seen the obstacles Portugal placed during the eighteenth century in the way of the landing of independent orders of friars and

other missionaries intent upon entering the country. Portugal, however, had neither the means nor the wish to provide adequately for the needs of Indian Christendom. And it laid the greatest possible hindrances in the way of every enterprise undertaken without its specific approbation, whether by the Romish Church or other colonial powers.

Then, in the second place, with the rise of Holland, England, France, and Denmark as colonial powers, a change of opinion was continually going on in the minds of the Indians themselves. Whereas under the sole sovereignty of the Portuguese, the Indian people had regarded it as their fate that they should be forced to accept the religion of their imperious masters, they now came to see that their acceptance of Christianity, or their ultimate relapse into heathenism, was a matter to be decided by their own free will. Precisely in that district on the west coast where the Portuguese had, with Jesuit and Franciscan help, romanised whole provinces by main force, the fanatical Muhammadan, Tipu Sahib of the Mysore, now adopted similarly forcible measures in order to convert the masses of nominal Christians to Islam. Can we wonder, then, that he had successes so great as to be humiliating to us who read of them, and that, according to the Abbé Dubois (*Basle Missionary Magazine*, 1818, p. 169), 60,000 Christians accepted Muhammadanism without making the slightest demur?

Further, the leaders of the missionary movement since the time of Xavier had been the Jesuits. Their Order was suppressed in Portugal in the year 1759, in France in 1762, and in 1773 in every other country, by Pope Clement XIV. Whereas in the first half of the eighteenth century the stream of Jesuit missionaries proceeding to India was pitiably small, it now dried up almost altogether, and the mission fields became desolate.

And finally, the blast of revolution felt throughout Europe during the last third of the eighteenth century shook Church as well as State to its very foundation, and kept men's minds in such a constant state of excitement that the far-off mission fields in lands across the sea were wholly forgotten.

The French father, l'Abbé Dubois, for thirty-two years a missionary in the Mysore, writing on December 15th, 1815, in a letter which created much discussion at the time (*Basle Missionary Magazine*, 1818, p. 156 *et seq.*, Dubois' *Letters*, p. 57 *et seq.*), describes in truly disconsolate wise the hopeless condition of Roman Catholic missions, and we are able to corroborate the justice of his remarks from contemporary sources. According to his account, there were at that time 300,000 Romish

Christians in the archbishopric of Goa, of whom some 200,000 belonged to the still remaining Portuguese colonies of Goa, Daman, and Diu, and about 100,000 in Ceylon, 70,000 in the archbishopric of Kranganur, of which the Madura Mission formed a part; 60,000 in the bishopric of Cochin, and 50,000 in the bishopric of St. Thomas of Milapur, in the neighbourhood of Madras. All these were under Portuguese patronage. There were, further, the cures of three Apostolic Vicars sent direct from Rome and wholly independent of Portugal — Bombay with 10–12,000 Christians, Pondicherry with 34–36,000, and Verapoli with 120,000; and finally the Mission of the Italian Capucines in North India with about 12,000 adherents. That gives a total of about 660,000 Roman Catholic Christians, barely a third of their numbers a century earlier, and these remnants of a better day were in such a truly deplorable state morally and spiritually that one is tempted to regard the pessimistic descriptions of Abbé Dubois as being almost exaggerated in their gloom. He writes: "By far the greater part of them—in fact I might say the whole—present nothing but an empty shadow, a hollow mockery of Christianity; for in the long period of twenty-five years during which I learnt to know them most intimately and lived amongst them as their spiritual director, I can't say that I once found, anywhere, one single downright and straightforward Christian amongst the natives of India" (as above, p. 166). "Several of them are fairly well instructed, and know what are the duties of a Christian; but far and away the larger part of them live in the crassest ignorance, and their entire religion is confined to the observance of a few external ordinances and the repetition of certain forms of prayer without possessing one single spark of the inward practical spirit of Christianity. The Sabbath is either but just remembered or wholly disregarded, and all their religious exercises are performed either simply because of custom or a vain desire to please men rather than God" (*ibid.* p. 168). In 1823, Dubois returned wholly discouraged to France, and published his *Letters on the State of Christianity in India* (London, 1823; Weimar, 1824), in which he gave a connected description of his crushing experiences, and set out more fully his convictions thereon. "This religion (Christianity), which formerly was an object of indifference or contempt, has now, as I can testify from personal observation, well-nigh become an object of abhorrence; it is certain that for sixty years past not one single proselyte has been made. Before half a century has elapsed there will not be the slightest trace of this Christianity remaining among the Hindus." "I must confess it with shame and humiliation that there was not a single member of them (the Christian

in his own spheres of labour) of whom it could be said that he had accepted Christianity save for some objectionable, secondary consideration" (cf. *Basle Miss. Mag.*, 1825, p. 137 *et seq.*).[1]

[1] It is almost incredible in view of these facts that Marshall, whom Janssen praises as a classic amongst Roman Catholic historians, should write in his *Die Christlichen Missionen*, vol. i. p. 421: "From 1760–1820 scarcely a single thing was done on behalf of Catholic missions and their numerous adherents. How did the Catholic Christians of India stand such a test? The answer of history to this question reveals one of the most wonderful and surprising facts in the whole history of the Christian Church. It would almost appear as though God by a special and wondrous providence had determined to justify His servants in the eyes of the whole world, as though He had left their work to apparently inevitable dissolution and decay, in order to prove that neither the world nor Satan, neither persecution nor treachery nor neglect, had it in their power to extinguish the life that was in this Church. And when after sixty years' silence and affliction they were sought out, a large and living nucleus was discovered where only the bodies of the dead might have been expected. . . . In spite of this, the astounding fact was brought to light that after half a century of total (?) neglect there still remained over a million Catholics who with inflexible constancy clung to the faith delivered to their fathers. . . . This was the surprising result of a period of testing that is without parallel in the chronicles of Christendom." More honourable Catholic writers like Father Huonder, at the Catholic Festival held at Crefeld in 1898, frankly admit that Roman Catholic missions at the beginning of the nineteenth century lay nearly everywhere in ruins (*Allgem. Miss. Zeitung*, 1898, p. 481).

CHAPTER II

THE DANISH MISSION

1. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND[1]

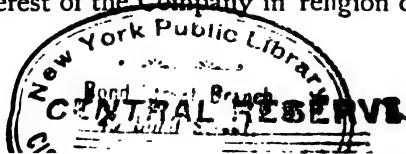
THE historical background of this justly famous epoch in the story of missions was dark and complicated. The dominion of the Portuguese which in the sixteenth century had been undisputed over all countries bordering the Indian Ocean had to give way in the seventeenth to that of the Dutch; their Indian possessions dwindled down to the districts around Goa and Daman, the island of Diu, and scattered trading-factories along the west coast. The sole traces of the extensive influence which they had hitherto possessed are to be found in the fact that during the two succeeding centuries European half-castes in India were bluntly termed "Portuguese," they spoke as a rule a kind of broken Portuguese, and were regarded as the lawful province of Roman Catholic missions—no very favourable testimony to the moral condition of this age of civilisation and to the missionary work conducted therein! Although the Dutch in the seventeenth century considered themselves lords of the Indian Ocean and of the trade of India, yet it was only Ceylon that they regarded as their own exclusive territory. As regards the rest of India, they were not unwilling to allow other Protestant powers to enter into commercial competition with them and to build factories along the coast. They also allowed Catholic France to establish itself both in Northern and in Southern India. Thus at the dawn of the eighteenth century the Indian coast-line was confusedly dotted with the factories and forts of different and rival nations. Beginning at the southern extremity of the Tamil coast and going northwards, we find the Dutch quartered in Tuticorin and Negapatam, the French in Karikal, the Danes in Tranquebar, the English in Cuddalore, the French in Pondicherry, the Dutch in Sadras, the English in Madras, the Dutch again in Pulicat (or Palleakatta), and so on.

Then the star of Holland began to fade; in Europe that of

[1] See Appendix K.

Louis XIV. was in the ascendant, and it appeared to his enterprising representatives in India, the brave and skilful Generals Dupleix and La Bourdonnais, and the Viceroy, Count Lally, that it would be possible, taking Pondicherry as base, to found a great French colonial empire. The opportunity for embarking on such an enterprise was all the more favourable since Count Lally, through his marriage with an Indian princess, was closely connected with several of the princely houses of India. The only rivals the French had to fear were the English.

It was an important hour for India as well as for England, when on the last day of the sixteenth century, December 31st, 1600, Queen Elizabeth issued the Charter "To one Body Corporate and Politik, in Deed and in Name, by the name of The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." Thus came into being the famous East India Company, which for two and a half centuries (until 1858) was to rule the fortunes of India, and, when its day was done, to bequeath to England the most precious jewel in her crown. There was a striking difference between the first Englishmen in India and their contemporaries, the devout Pilgrim Fathers of North America. The traders who went to India did not concern themselves in the slightest degree with either Christianity or Church. They set up harems, and in order to win favour in the eyes of their mistresses they did not hesitate to worship their pagan gods. They spent eighty years in India before it occurred to them to erect the first Christian church. What the Hindus thought of them is shown by the well-known answer given to an English chaplain: "Christian religion! Devil religion! Christian much drunk, much do wrong, much beat, much abuse others." And yet there were devout men to be found amongst the Directors, especially during the seventeenth century. It was regarded as a notable day in London when, on December 22nd, 1616, a native of Masulipatam was after due instruction baptized. From 1614 onwards a few chaplains were sent out to India, the first of them proceeding to Surat and Masulipatam; in 1647 the first of them arrived at Madras. But their stipends were miserably insufficient; and, in spite of an express prohibition, many of them entered into commercial undertakings in order to supplement their income, and the greater number of them reflected little credit on their cloth. By the Charter of 1698 the Company was directly charged to see to it that "all chaplains in their East Indian service shall learn the language of the country, in order that they may be the better able to instruct the Gentoos, heathen servants, or slaves of the Company, and of its agents, in the Protestant religion." But precisely from that date the interest of the Company in religion died down, only to



be succeeded during the course of the eighteenth century by open hostility to any and every form of missionary work.

In South India, where the English first came into contact with missionary work, they held two strong positions in Madras (Fort St. George) and Cuddalore (Fort St. David), but apart from this they were but poorly supported, and they had no tried leader fit to compare with the French generals. Under these circumstances the conflict between the French and the English for Indian supremacy was long and severe. Sometimes one of the frequent continental wars of the eighteenth century would be settled in India, sometimes the English and French troops would come into collision as the respective allies of bellicose Indian princes, sometimes the two rivals would take to fighting on their own account. During the two decades (1740–1761) the central and northern portions of the Tamil country especially were never free from the echoes of war.

In 1746 the Viceroy of Bourbon and Mauritius, Mahé de la Bourdonnais, appeared with a fleet before Madras, and by a trick captured that important town, the principal English base in India. But through the envy and jealousy of his rival, Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, his triumph was short-lived. He was accused by the latter of high treason and recalled to France, where he languished three years in the Bastille ; when at length released, he quickly sickened and died. By the peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, Madras was given back to the French. Dupleix thought the field was now clear, during the confusion of affairs which followed the death of the Nawab of Arcot, Asaf Jah, in 1748, to establish a Franco-Indian empire. But he also fell into disgrace, was recalled and virulently attacked at home, and died before judgment was pronounced upon his case. Ten years later, in 1758, Count Lally once more took up the ambitious design. He captured the second English stronghold, Fort St. David (Cuddalore). But in 1761 the English captured the chief stronghold of the French, Pondicherry, and thereby gave the death-blow to the domination of the French. The voluptuous and shortsighted monarchs who sat on the throne of France, and their all-powerful and intriguing mistresses, did not understand that they were surrendering in India a large part of the world supremacy and future greatness of France. They left their brave generals completely in the lurch, and by the year 1761 English ascendancy in South India was assured.

Inextricably mixed up with this struggle between the two colonial powers were the wars and intrigues of the native kingdoms, who were urged on, supported, and betrayed by French and English in turn, and who were all involved in ruin

in this whirlwind of unrest and confusion. In the Tamil country there were at that time four kingdoms of importance. The kingdom of the Nawab of Arcot (the Carnatic), which was one of the vast fragments of the former dominion of the Great Moghul, included the present districts of North and South Arcot, Chingleput, and a part of the Cauvery district; its principal towns were Vellore, Arcot, and Trichinopoly. During the whole of the eighteenth century the Nawab played an important rôle. The territories of Madras and Cuddalore were originally tiny portions of his wide empire which he had resigned or presented to the English. In the year 1801 the last Nawab was dethroned by order of the English Governor.

In the kingdom of Tanjore, which adjoined that of the Nawab on the south, then the seat of the Chola dynasty, after which the eastern coast is named (Coromandel = Cholamandalam, *i.e.* Chola Land), a new kingdom had been founded in 1674 upon the ruins of the old Chola government by Venkaji, a brother of the bold usurper Sivaji, the founder of the Maratha kingdom; this kingdom maintained its existence, despite all storms and changes, down to the year 1855. But even in the second half of the eighteenth century it was so weak that in 1773 the Rajah Tulsi, overcome by the Nawab of Arcot in league with the unscrupulous Government of Madras, was deprived of his power and cast into prison. The Court of Directors of the East India Company, however, did not recognise this dethronement, and in 1776 they set Tulsi again on the throne. When in 1787 this indolent prince was dying, at the early age of forty-three, in consequence of his debauchery, he appointed the missionary Schwartz as guardian to his adopted ten-year-old nephew, Serfoji. At first Schwartz had desired that the guardianship and regency should be confided to Amir Singh, a half-brother of Tulsi, and Serfoji's uncle. But when this prince of intriguers used his influence to get himself recognised as Rajah by the unscrupulous English Government, Schwartz had him set on one side, established Serfoji's right to the throne, and allowed himself to be placed at the head of a Council of Regency for the kingdom of Tanjore. The admiration we cannot but feel at the disinterested conduct of Schwartz in this case only renders more apparent the helpless condition of the kingdom of Tanjore.

In the neighbouring and ancient Pandyan kingdom of Madura, which lay farther to the south, the Telugu dynasty of the Nayaks had, towards 1420, built up a fairly strong Government, which reached its zenith under the brilliant and pomp-loving Tirumal Nayak in the seventeenth century. As, however, in the course of time the feudal lords and downtrodden heads

of the old population of Madura became more powerful and sought more and more to become independent, continuous dynastic disputes at length led to the formation of the little kingdom of Sivaganga as a rival state in the eastern part of the country. From this time the power of the Nayaks gradually decayed, until at last, after the death of the last ruler of the Nayak dynasty, Queen Minachiammal, the Muhammadans became lords of the land in 1737. The remaining members of the Nayak family were captured by the Muhammadans through strategy and shut up in the Fort at Trichinopoly, where they were cruelly allowed to perish from thirst. The conquest of the country, however, brought little profit to the Muhammadans. For four decades did the Nawab of Arcot, the English, and the French fight for the possession of Madura, until at last the English gained the upper hand here also; in 1772 Ramnad was captured, in 1790 the rock fortress of Dindigul, and in 1799, after a long resistance, Sivaganga.

Into this scene of turmoil and strife there entered yet a further disturbing element when, in 1759, Haidar Ali, the commander-in-chief of the troops of the Rajah of Mysore, established himself as ruler of that kingdom, and in a few years (by 1766), by means of a series of successful wars, extended the boundaries of the Mysore far up the west coast of India and a long way inland towards the east. In alliance with the French, to whose interests he was thoroughly devoted, he dictated to the English at the gates of Madras, on March 29th, 1769, the terms of a most distasteful peace. From that day the English, who had previously thought themselves sure of the supremacy of the whole of South India, were made aware that a new and formidable rival had taken the field, with whom they would have to fight for their very existence. Thus there began a new and fierce struggle lasting for over thirty years, first with Haidar Ali (until his death at Chittoor on December 7th, 1782), and afterwards with his less fortunate son, Tipu Sahib (1782–1799). As early as 1784 the latter was forced to submit to the Peace of Mangalore. This did not, however, put a stop to his ambition; he aimed at nothing less than a great alliance of all the Muhammadan kingdoms, in order to secure for them the mastery of the world. From 1789 to 1799 another succession of fierce battles was fought, which only terminated on May 4th, 1799, with the storming of Seringapatam and the heroic death of Tipu Sahib.

Thus throughout nearly the whole of the eighteenth century the Tamil country was the scene of war and the noise of battle. It was no favourable field for the peaceful labours of the missionaries. Whilst often enough the fortunes of war have

opened, or have helped to open, doors hitherto closed, and to give an entrance to Trichinopoly, to Tanjore, to Madura, and to Tinnevelly, just as often has missionary work been interrupted, the native churches have been scattered, and serious obstacles placed in the way of building up and deepening the spiritual life of the converts, by the universal chaos of war. It was a gracious providence that the *point de départ*, and, for half a century, the headquarters of mission work in the south, was the little Danish settlement of Tranquebar. Here there was comparative seclusion from the storms which raged without; here it was able silently to take firm root in the alien soil of the Tamil country before spreading out in all directions, and directly challenging the fury of the tempest.

In 1616, at the time when the Dutch were about to drive the Portuguese out of India, a second East India Company was founded in Denmark, and was accorded very extensive privileges by the King of Denmark. Under the leadership of the youthful admiral Ole Gedde, the Danes landed in 1620 on the island of Ceylon and on the Coromandel coast of India. An attempt to found a colony in the Trincomali district came to naught; but in the Tamil country, on a narrow strip of coast presented to them by the Rajah of Tanjore, the Danes built Fort Dansborg, called in Tamil Taramkambadi, or Wave-town, of which the familiar "Tranquebar" is a corruption. This pioneer trading station, which was situated within a very short distance of the rich and fertile Cauvery delta, soon developed into a very busy commercial centre. Only a small amount of territory belonged to the Fort; but, being a fertile rice plain, it was sufficient to support some twenty to thirty thousand Tamils densely packed in fifteen or twenty villages. This unpretentious little plot of ground was the cradle of Protestant missions in India. In contrast to the European quarters in other towns of India—which are generally sufficiently roomy—the bungalows of the Europeans at Tranquebar are closely packed together; the stately thoroughfare called King Street, in which they are principally to be found, has almost the appearance of a city of modern Greece. It was intended that Tranquebar should be a Danish trading colony pure and simple, which should give access to, and a share in, the greatly desired natural and manufactured products of India: thus it was trade interests that determined the location of the colony in that particular place. These Danish tradesmen, moreover, at the beginning of the eighteenth century—just like the English at the close of that same century—were convinced that nothing could be more detrimental to their selfish gains than any intermeddling with the religion of the natives, and hence from

the very beginning the determined opponents of missionary work sought by every means in their power to prevent it being started.

2. Early Years (1706–1720)

Frederick IV., the religiously inclined King of Denmark, had, while he was still Crown Prince, conceived the idea of sending the gospel to the heathen in the Danish transmarine possessions. These possessions consisted of the Lesser Antilles, a part of the West Indian group, the settlements on the Guinea coast of West Africa, and quite recently Tranquebar. Hitherto nothing whatever had been done for the cause of missions. It was indeed the custom to have a Lutheran clergyman in every Danish factory, and in Tranquebar itself there were two; but there is not the slightest trace of their ever having given a thought to the spiritual welfare of the natives. Their only activity in this direction was that they would often summarily baptize the numerous natives who had been captured in the never-ending piratical expeditions, and who would then be sold up country as slaves for the ridiculous price of from five to ten piastres. One of the Danish clergymen, Magister Jacob Worm, had enjoyed at home a certain popularity as a poet, but on account of sundry abusive effusions concerning the king and his methods of government, had been banished to Tranquebar. On his gravestone he lays claim to the title of "the Danish Apostle of India." But although he had lived in Tranquebar till 1694, the missionaries who arrived there ten years later found no single trace of his labours. King Frederick IV. thoroughly believed in the Lutheran teaching that it is one of the duties devolving upon monarchs to make provision for the Christianising of their non-Christian subjects. He applied to his court preacher, Dr. Lütkens, who had been transferred in 1704 from Berlin to Copenhagen, and commissioned him to provide several missionaries. As he could find no suitable persons in Denmark, Lütkens wrote to his friends in Berlin, and by their means Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau entered the service of Denmark as "royal Danish missionaries."

Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, born on June 24th, 1683, at the little town of Pulsnitz in the Ober Lausitz, had early in life lost his parents and all his near relatives, save only one elder sister. He was of such a delicate constitution that in spite of all his consuming zeal for learning he was continually forced by ill-health to interrupt his studies, and seriously to consider

whether he had not better retire to the quietness of his native town, and there become a small farmer. Whilst attending the "Gymnasium" at Görlitz at the age of sixteen he was soundly converted to God, and from that time he was on terms of close intimacy with the leaders of the Pietist movement, especially with A. H. Francke and Joachim Lange. While studying for a short time at Halle, a word of Abbot Breithaupt fixed itself indelibly in his mind: "If anyone leads a single soul belonging to a heathen people to God, it is as great a deed as though he were to win a hundred souls in Europe, since the latter daily enjoy sufficient opportunities of being converted." Greatly harassed by religious scruples, it was only at the urgent solicitations of his friends that he consented to obey the call to the mission field. He derived no small consolation from the fact that his friend and fellow-student Heinrich Plütschau of Wesenberg, in Mecklenburg Strelitz, a man some six years his senior, was to accompany him. There was no lack of opposition to their project from the very beginning. The Danish Bishop, Dr. Bornemann, who had no sympathy with Pietism, caused them both to fail in their examination, and it was only on a peremptory order from the king that a second examination was held in which both candidates did well. Their missionary project met with little save contempt or ominous shaking of the head. And the East India Company, who regarded the king's plan of sending out these missionaries into its factories as an arbitrary usurpation of its rights, dispatched in advance secret instructions to their officials to lay as many obstacles as possible in the way of the inconvenient newcomers. The two young missionaries sailed for India on the *Sophie Hedwig*, and on July 9th, 1706, they arrived in the roadstead of Tranquebar. This is the birthday of Protestant missions in India.

A most unpleasant reception awaited them. Although they had already met with much opposition on the part of the captain and the Lutheran chaplain on board ship during the voyage out, matters were far worse when they came to disembark. First of all they had to wait several days on board, because no one would get them a boat to take them ashore. Then a friend took them on board another ship, from which they set off through the foaming surf in a little boat. When they were at last carried ashore by Tamils, the captain threatened the latter with blows, and made for the missionaries with an uplifted stick. But they had landed; it was ten o'clock in the morning. They were now forced to wait outside the town until seven in the evening. At four o'clock the Commander of the place, J. C. Hassius, came out to meet them, accompanied by the

magistrates and the two Danish preachers. He asked them what they wanted and who had sent them.

When they showed the king's letter and seal, he became suddenly quiet, and thought they might perhaps help at the Danish school; apart from that, he knew nothing they were fit for. The two clergymen also gave them a freezing reception. Night fell; the officials strode back into the town, and the missionaries followed them as far as the market-place. There they were left alone, but at length a secretary took pity on them and brought them to the house of his father-in-law, who spoke German.

This reception was unfortunately characteristic of what they had to expect from the Danish authorities in the future. Hassius scarcely needed the secret orders of the Company to make him place every obstacle and vexation in the path of the missionaries. For the most insignificant reasons he would have them publicly arrested, and heap upon them the bitterest reproaches in the presence of both white man and native. When Plütschau, in a sermon preached on New Year's Day 1707, quite inadvertently spoke of the sins of Christians and the omissions of Christian Governments, both missionaries were the same afternoon brought before the Governor and charged with inciting to rebellion. Hassius struck Ziegenbalg on the breast and forbade such "dogs" having any further communication with him. When another time Plütschau had taken an interest in the illegitimate child of one of the soldiers, Hassius, in the presence of Dutch officers and the clergymen, threatened him with a thrashing and degradation from his office. Even the natives who looked on during these "judicial proceedings" shook their heads at such unheard-of violence towards ministers of religion. When a short time afterwards Ziegenbalg forwarded to Hassius a petition on behalf of an oppressed widow that was perhaps not drawn up in strictly legal form, Hassius determined to allow his fury full play. He discourteously sent a slave to summon the missionary to his presence. When Ziegenbalg refused to answer a message communicated in such a way, the guard suddenly appeared before his lodgings with loaded muskets, and conducted him in his dressing-gown and slippers to the fortress, where the drawbridge was immediately pulled up behind him, as if some conspiracy had been discovered. The unfortunate man was sentenced to four months' imprisonment, being confined in a tiny room near the kitchen, in which he was well-nigh suffocated, and kept under the most rigid surveillance. No one was allowed to visit him, and he was even denied pen and ink. The military and other officials were commanded to have no kind of intercourse with

those "traitors to their country," the missionaries. As Plütschau, however, was bold enough in his next German sermon to read out passages concerning Jezebel, Antiochus, and Herod, not only was preaching in German stopped, but all contributions for the support of the missionaries were forbidden, and the tiny Church that was being formed dispersed and scattered. In other directions, too, Hassius placed obstacles in the way of the missionaries. He watched their home correspondence with suspicious eyes: sometimes he opened their letters, or extracted portions which he destroyed. If they wished to go inland, he sought by strategy or force to prevent their being admitted into English or Dutch colonies. When they wished to return to Denmark in order to obtain redress of their grievances, he tried in the most outrageous ways to stop them. In a word, everything he could do to hinder the starting of missions was done.

In other respects, too, circumstances were in many ways unfavourable for the two young and inexperienced missionaries. They had been appointed for five years only, and as one year had to be allowed for the journey out and another for the journey home, they intended at first to remain in Tranquebar for only three years. Was it worth while, then, to start missionary work on any considerable scale, especially in view of the language difficulty? Even Danish was a foreign language to them. The numerous half-castes spoke broken Portuguese, which was in addition the language of commerce, and this also they were forced to learn. But they soon perceived that this did not help them to get any nearer to the natives. To do this there was only one course open to them—they must acquire the difficult Tamil language, which none of the Danish clergymen and scarcely any of the Danish officials had yet learnt. Besides, it had come to be regarded as a matter of course in Tranquebar that the Danes, the Dutch, and the German mercenaries should adhere to the Dutch preachers, whilst the half-castes, the illegitimate offspring of these same Europeans, were without more ado abandoned to the Roman Catholics. The Portuguese priest, Pater Guevara, jealously maintained this supposed right, and regarded it as a wholly unjustifiable incursion into his own sphere of influence when the missionaries began to concern themselves about these half-castes, the so-called "Portuguese"; as he was a friend of Hassius, he did all in his power to incense the already infuriated Governor against his rivals.

The missionaries each received a yearly stipend of two hundred Danish thalers. This was just sufficient to supply them with the necessaries of life; but how with such a sum

were they to buy mission houses, to build churches, and to found schools, etc.? On May 1st, 1708, a Danish ship cast anchor in the roadstead, and a letter from Dr. Lütkens informed the missionaries that the ship had on board two thousand thalers for their use. But through the carelessness of the drunken captain the boat which was bringing the money ashore was capsized and all its contents were lost; and although the water at the spot was only six feet deep, and the money might therefore easily have been found, yet Hassius and the other officials, who found a fiendish joy in this severe loss of the missionaries, refrained from any energetic search for the money, which was never recovered. From 1710–1713 no Danish ship put into Tranquebar, the missionaries were almost cut off from all communication with Europe and were at the mercy of the capricious Governor. To complete the tale of their misfortunes, out of three assistants who were sent out to them in 1709, one Bövingh was a narrow-minded "orthodox" clergyman, a Dane to the backbone, possessing not the remotest degree of sympathy with the German Pietists. As long as he remained in Tranquebar he was a constant source of trouble to the older missionaries; and when in 1711 he definitely quitted the Tamil country—where he had never made himself at home—he brought the most scandalous charges against them in a Diary which he published in Denmark and in Germany. When we remember that in addition to all these things Ziegenbalg was frequently prostrated by sickness, and that in 1711 Plütschau returned to Germany, never again to revisit Tranquebar, we can call it nothing but a miracle that, in spite of all these trials and disappointments, Christian missions should ever have gained a foothold in Tranquebar. The credit for this is in the main due to the tireless industry and devoted labours of Ziegenbalg. He was the real founder of the Danish Tamil Mission.

Besides the pastoral care which they bestowed on the degraded and savage German and Dutch mercenaries, Ziegenbalg and his friends—for in 1709, in addition to Bövingh, who has been already mentioned above, two other missionaries had come out, Jordan who was not yet ordained, and the energetic and able Gründler—set themselves with the utmost diligence to the task of instructing the half-castes and of preaching to the natives as soon as they were able in the Tamil tongue. Ziegenbalg especially, with his gift for languages and his tireless industry, obtained a complete mastery of Tamil. That he took an interest in science and had a thorough grasp of missionary problems was proved by the fact that he began almost at once to read deeply both in Tamil literature and in Tamil philosophy, and to produce writings with the double

object of facilitating the entrance of his colleagues and those who should come after him into this new and strange world of ideas, and of stimulating in wider circles at home interest and sympathy in this ancient Indian civilisation and people. Unfortunately his friends at Halle cared very little for these scientific pursuits, and Ziegenbalg's books and writings remained largely unpublished. His most valuable treatise, *The Genealogy of the Deities of Malabar*, first saw the light in 1867, when it was published by his biographer, Germann. That even after the lapse of a century and a half the book was not out of date was shown by the fact that the German edition was almost immediately followed by one in English.[1] As soon as he had obtained a fair mastery of the language, Ziegenbalg began to prepare works in Tamil. At first his progress was painfully slow; the only method of obtaining duplicate copies was to have them copied out by hand. This was not only very expensive but also a source of much anxiety, as the native copyists took a delight in introducing mistakes into the most important passages. In 1712 a small press with Roman type was sent out, and in 1713 one with Tamil characters. Literary work could now be conducted on more extended lines. Ziegenbalg began by publishing a few sermons; then came the small Lutheran Catechism and several tracts and school-books. But from the very beginning he attached chief importance to a translation of the Holy Scriptures. With much prayer he set about this work, which was laid very earnestly upon his heart, and his unceasing diligence enabled him to finish the whole of the New Testament and the Old as far as the Book of Ruth. He neither spoke nor wrote a classical or especially well-sounding Tamil; his Roman Catholic contemporary and opponent, the eminent but deceitful Jesuit linguist, Beschi, had an easy task in exposing translations of this character to ridicule, calling it "horrid gibberish," and declaring that "when one read the first line of it one's eyes became inflamed, one's tongue dried up, and one's ears inclined to burst: people looked at one another and broke out in loud laughter."[2] But for all that, Ziegenbalg's Tamil was intelligible and faithful and was widely read, and it became the foundation of the later classical translation of the Bible.

In addition to this literary work Ziegenbalg was diligent in preaching the Word to the heathen. In front of the house he had bought in the middle of the native portion of Tranquebar, he built a pandal, or projecting roof of bamboo; under this he

[1] See Appendix L.
[2] From the anti-Lutheran diatribe (in Tamil), "The Lutheran Swarm," *Basle Missionary Magazine*, 1868, p. 102.

assembled thrice in the week, or oftener, a more or less numerous company of most attentive listeners. Those who preferred to speak with him privately in his study found him ever ready to help them. In the second year of his residence at Tranquebar he founded a school for the "Portuguese" and native children, and combined it with a boarding-house, where he declared himself ready to receive and maintain free of charge all children entrusted to him, and to give them a Christian education. Pretty soon a small congregation was collected, composed partly of natives who had been baptized, partly of converts from the Catholics. In 1707 the number of members was 35; in 1708, 101; in 1712, 202; and by Ziegenbalg's death in 1719, 428 had been received or baptized, 280 of whom were actually members at that time. The oversight of these members caused Ziegenbalg considerable difficulty in many ways. They were composed in almost equal proportions of Tamils and of Portuguese-speaking half-castes. It was one of the peculiarities of this earliest missionary effort in India that such a large amount of attention and care should have been given to outcastes as well as natives. In the later development of Protestant missions this particular form of work has been frequently neglected. Then in the Tamil portion of the congregation the missionaries were brought face to face with the complicated question of caste. Part of these Tamil Christians were Sudras of various castes, part Pariahs; it was soon found necessary to make concessions to the prejudices of the former, by reserving a special place in the church for their use. At the celebration of the Communion, Sudra women had precedence over male Pariahs. This state of affairs came about naturally and was in accordance with the usages introduced by the Roman Catholics. In the meantime the missionaries were able to alleviate the caste evil somewhat by adopting the plan of teaching clever Pariah children Portuguese and then clothing them in European dress. Such children henceforth took precedence of the Sudras. Mixed marriages between such castes as were pretty closely related often occurred, but never between Sudra and Pariah Christians.[1]

The missionaries showed great skill and much spiritual discernment in the way in which they introduced a system of church government and a true Protestant form of worship, thereby establishing a sound ecclesiastical polity. Church discipline also was introduced, and its exercise was delegated to a "mixed consistory." Their chief aim, moreover, was to secure fellow-workers as soon as possible from amongst the Tamils themselves. From the very beginning they had made use of

[1] *Basle Missionary Magazine*, 1868, p. 133.

every Christian who showed any ability or willingness to help, either as a schoolmaster or a catechist, or as a helper in some other way. In 1716 they opened an institution for the training of teachers, beginning with eight students. They also founded out-stations in the small Danish territory at such places as Poriar and Tiliali, and at these missionaries were temporarily stationed.

Seeing their work in Tranquebar hemmed in and hampered on all sides, and finding that contributions were now beginning to flow in more plenteously from Germany and England, the missionaries commenced to entertain the project of extending their mission beyond the boundaries of the little Danish state. Ziegenbalg travelled to Madras (English) in the north, and Negapatam (Dutch) in the south, and in both places he found the authorities favourable and the natives ready to listen. In his active mind there gradually developed the large plan of journeying through the whole of the Tamil country from Madras in the north right down to Ceylon in the south, preaching the gospel, and of uniting the universities of Germany, Denmark, and Holland in an attempt to accomplish this great work.

But before any extension of their work could be thought of, it was necessary to put an end to the opposition, both open and disguised, of Commander Hassius and the East India Company. As the journey undertaken by Plütschau in 1711 for this express purpose had proved unsuccessful, Ziengenbalg himself left for Europe in 1714, and by his winning presence and his impetuous and convincing eloquence brought about a complete change in public opinion in so far as there existed any at all, on the subject of foreign missions. Even before Ziegenbalg's arrival a special Missionary Board, the Collegium de cursu evangelii promovendo, had been established at Copenhagen in 1714 under a royal warrant, and in order to simplify the question of administration Ziegenbalg was named its first "Provost." The belligerent Hassius was recalled and his place filled by a Governor, an ardent sympathiser with missionary work. Everything promised well when, in August 1817, Ziegenbalg, who in the meantime had married the devout Maria Salzmann, landed once more at Tranquebar. In place of the inadequate temporary structure built in 1707, the large beautiful "Jerusalem Church," still one of the chief adornments of Tranquebar, was erected and consecrated in 1718, while other churches were planned. Suddenly there fell a ruinous blow upon the infant mission. The chairmanship of the Board of Administration at Copenhagen had passed into the hands of a man named Wendt; he was of a pious disposition, but of the narrowest possible outlook, and

had allowed himself to become prejudiced against Ziegenbalg by the unjust accusations of Bövingh. In his view the work at Tranquebar was conducted on too worldly lines; he was possessed by what he imagined to be the apostolic missionary ideal—a mission without church buildings, without schools, without missionaries' dwellings, without anything outwardly "institutional"; the missionaries ought to be poor, to travel up and down the Tamil country without any luggage whatever, and do nothing but preach the gospel all day long to the natives. It was Wendt's delight to press these entirely visionary and immature missionary ideas upon the Tranquebar "Provost" in so spiteful a fashion, and accompanied by so many personal attacks and accusations, that Ziegenbalg and his colleagues were deeply pained and wounded. This entirely mistaken and ignorant policy cost the mission the lives of its two ablest representatives. Ziegenbalg set out in a document as dignified as it was wise the utter impossibility of carrying out Wendt's theories. He wrote it with his heart's blood; on February 23rd, 1719, he died, at the early age of thirty-six, his constitution, which was always delicate, being unable to withstand this severe blow. Four months later, in July 1719, three fresh missionaries, Schultze, Dal, and Kistenmacher, landed, and brought with them a bulky communication from the Collegium. Gründler, Ziegenbalg's most faithful friend and most competent colleague, who opened it, was scarcely able to read it for tears: it was a complete condemnation of Ziegenbalg and of the methods of work hitherto adopted by the mission. Patiently submitting to such senseless directions, Gründler prepared to set off on the preaching tour insisted upon in the missive. But he was already in the grip of disease, and within two weeks he had to be brought back to Tranquebar, where he died on March 19th, 1720. "The real reason of his death," wrote his widow, "is the grief which the severe letter from the College caused him. It is that which has consumed his strength from day to day." The news of these two fatalities had a most salutary effect at home. Wendt fell into disfavour and was dismissed from his post. His "apostolic" plans were for ever put on one side—but unfortunately too late.

3. Further Development (1720–1798)

The young missionaries who landed in 1719 were unable to continue the work of the mission successfully. Benjamin Schultze was perhaps the most talented amongst them—a man of considerable linguistic gifts and great energy, but inconsistent

and restless, without depth or dignity, and with a spice of the *petit maître* about him which rendered him unbearable to his colleagues. He assumed the leadership at Tranquebar, but Dal and Kistenmacher had a great deal to put up with, and the latter died within a few months. Schultze regarded it as his duty to root out the caste evil from amongst the Tamil converts, and he issued various directions and prohibitions on this point, greatly to the unsettling of the Christians. But when he found he could not agree with Walther and Pressier, two able missionaries who arrived in 1725, and who remained till 1739 and 1738 respectively, he left Tranquebar and sought a fresh field of labour in Madras. Walther and Pressier soon brought the discord in the Christian congregations to a close. It may have been out of sheer contrast to the exaggerated and ill-considered zeal of their predecessor that they went farther in their toleration of caste than even Ziegenbalg had done; in fact, they were the first to hold such toleration as a matter of principle. The Sudras were now allowed to sit a yard apart from the Pariahs in church, and even in the schools their children were kept apart, "as far as this was possible."

The Church grew perceptibly during these decades; often in a single year there would be as many as 600 baptisms or more. It was especially encouraging to find amongst the converts capable and devoted men whom it was a real joy to ordain, and thus lay the foundation of a native pastorate; thus in December 1733 Aaron was sent forth to preach, and at Christmas 1741, Diego. But no Pariahs were ordained, not even Rajanaiken, whom we must shortly mention. A decided movement in favour of Christianity made itself felt during this period in the kingdom of Tanjore—which surrounded the tiny Tranquebar district on all sides. A sub-officer, Rajanaiken, a Roman Catholic Tamil, whose interest in the Scriptures had been awakened by reading Ziegenbalg's simple and straightforward translation of the New Testament, had made the acquaintance of the Tranquebar missionaries, and had finally thrown in his lot with them. He was not a man of great gifts or intelligence, but he was all on fire to impart the truth he had learned to others, and was ready to suffer much for his faith. The leader of the Roman Catholic missions in the kingdom of Tanjore at this time was Beschi, a Jesuit possessing linguistic abilities of a high order and abundance of energy, but who was both unscrupulous and ambitious; his period of service in India was from 1710 till about 1740, and one of his great objects was to keep down Lutheran missions. As soon as he heard of Rajanaiken's conversion he secretly commissioned

several of the Roman Catholic village headmen to pull down the homestead of the apostate, and nothing but the intervention of heathen neighbours prevented the consummation of this childish exploit. Three years later, however, in 1731, and again at Beschi's orders, the fanatical Roman Catholics once more attacked Rajanaiken's house; two of his brothers were wounded and his father killed. A few years later assassins entered his house, and a native preacher who happened to be staying with him only escaped with difficulty out of their hands. Beschi not only set the fists and daggers of his pliable subordinates at work; he sharpened his pen, keen enough already, dipped it in the poison of hatred and malice, and composed polemics of unmeasured bitterness against the Lutherans. The cleverest and most famous is the "Lutheran Swarm," in which the heathen are compared to the swarm of locusts mentioned in the Apocalypse (Rev. ix. 1–4) in metaphorical language that was most admirably suited to the Tamils with their love of illustration.[1] But neither his calumnies nor his attempted violence could hinder the zeal and the joyful witness-bearing of Rajanaiken, who had now left his military service and become a "catechist" at Tranquebar. The fire kindled by his preaching spread far and wide.

The missionaries at this time were still very greatly hampered as regards their freedom of movement. It was not until 1728 that Pressier was able to proceed to Tanjore, in order to make the personal acquaintance of the converts whom Rajanaiken had made. Apart from this visit, the catechists, especially Aaron, an excellent native preacher ordained in 1733, had to exercise general supervision of the whole work. Up to 1739, when Walther returned to Germany, the congregation at Tranquebar had increased to 299 "Portuguese" and 1021 Tamils, and in the adjoining country districts of Tanjore to 2446 souls, thus making a total of 3766 souls, a splendid harvest after thirty years of patient sowing.

In the meantime the work of the mission had been extended in other directions; the two centres of the English colonial power in South India, Madras and Cuddalore, or as they were then called, Fort St. George and Fort St. David, were the places chosen for the planting of the two next stations. In both Ziegenbalg himself had already attempted to make a beginning and had met with a kind reception. As early as the year 1717 a German missionary had been stationed in Cuddalore for a time; but it was not till 1737 that it was raised to the rank of a regular station, and after that time it

[1] For a longer summary of this document, cf. *Basle Missionary Magazine*, 1868, p. 102 *et seq.*

had during the eighteenth century an almost continuous line of missionaries, as for instance Sartorius in 1737, Kiernander in 1740, etc. In 1758 the station suffered severe calamities. The French besieged, captured, and plundered the town. It was on this occasion that the Swedish missionary Kiernander left the Tamil country for good, and settled down in Bengal, where we shall in due time meet with him again. The two decades 1768–1788 brought Cuddalore good fortune; during these years the gifted and faithful Gericke laboured, partly here, partly in Negapatam, which was farther south. Yet neither in the city itself nor in the wide-stretching country beyond was the work rewarded with great success. Cuddalore came more and more to be looked upon as an out-station of Madras.

In Madras the work was begun, after several temporary efforts of Ziegenbalg, by Benjamin Schultze (1726–1741). He founded a school for Portuguese and another for Tamils, and sought to teach the children in them both English and the principles of Christianity. He collected funds for a church, gathered a little band of disciples, 240 in number, won the favour of the English by translating the Book of Common Prayer into Tamil, and studied and wrote with great energy, though without any permanent results. He deemed himself a linguistic genius, and translated with much celerity large portions of the Bible, not only into Tamil but also into Telugu and Hindustani. But his linguistic work has since proved practically worthless, and by its clumsy and ill-sounding Tamil exposed the mission to the jeers of Beschi and the criticism of the Tamils themselves.

When Schultze returned to Germany in 1741, Philipp Fabricius took charge of the mission station at Madras, and remained in charge of it for close on half a century (1742–1791). He possessed a sensitive and retiring nature, and therefore shrank from the wild, dissolute life of his time; the Tamils called him the "Sannyasi Aiyar," or the "monk-priest." He was hardly the man for the unsettled days and difficult conflicts through which he was destined to guide the fortunes of the congregation at Madras. This dark period from 1745 to 1784 was taken up in the first place with the Anglo-French struggle for the supremacy of South India, and later with the raids of Haidar Ali of Mysore. When Madras was captured and pillaged by the French in 1746, Fabricius was compelled to fly with his frightened flock to the neighbouring Dutch colony of Pulicat, and there to remain in exile until 1749. But he received remarkable compensation for this long and enforced retreat. The Portuguese Roman Catholics, one of whose chief centres in

India was Mount Thomas, near Madras (or Milapur; it had been the seat of a Roman bishopric since 1606), and who were therefore both numerous and influential in Madras, had played so doubtful a rôle in the Anglo-French War, and had brought upon themselves such strong suspicion of treason, that the East India Company as a punishment banished them from all their Indian possessions, and in particular forbade their further residence in Madras. Their property in that city was confiscated, and their church with the adjoining buildings, in the Vepery suburb, was presented to Fabricius and the Lutherans. In 1758 the French came again, and the light horse of their Muhammadan allies sacked all the environs of Madras, and in particular the mission property in the Vepery district. Fabricius was for the second time compelled to flee with his converts to Pulicat, and there to await the settlement of the political situation. Fort St. George was closely invested, but an English fleet came to the rescue in time, the French had to beat a retreat, and Fabricius was able to return to his devastated home. In 1780 mischief was threatened from a new quarter: the plain before Madras was suddenly overrun by the wild mounted hordes of Haidar Ali, who was acting in concert with the French; they advanced right up to the gates of the city, spreading fear and desolation around them. Fabricius and his followers were forced to take refuge in the fortress, and there they spent many weary days. Such stormy times were little suited to advance the peaceful work of the mission.

Fabricius, however, plunged all the more deeply into his beloved Tamil studies, and attained a degree of proficiency in the language which was not approached within even measurable distance by any of his colleagues during the eighteenth century. His favourite employment was the translation of the Bible into Tamil. He quickly saw how unsatisfactory was the hurried work of Schultze, and also how capable of amendment Ziegenbalg's translations were; he devoted his whole strength to this task, and "crept through the original Bible text on his knees as if he were himself a poor sinner and mendicant, carefully weighing each word to see how it might best be rendered." Fabricius' translation ranks as one of the most splendid achievements in this difficult field, and although since his time several other translations of the Bible have been published in Tamil which may perhaps be superior in fluency of rendering, intelligibility, or classical purity of style, it is still doubtful whether any one of these really comes up to the work of Fabricius, upon which, moreover, all are more or less dependent. After the Bible, his gentle spirit and fervent faith found expression in the composition of Tamil hymns. Ziegenbalg had translated forty-eight into the

vernacular, and Schultze had added a large number of more questionable value, but in this field also Fabricius holds the place of pre-eminence. Without allowing himself much poetical licence, he reproduced the very spirit of the German hymn-writers in the simplest language possible. "More poetical verses"—this is the judgment of the scholarly Gundert—"may have been composed by missionaries as well as verses that were perhaps more correct, but the fervent spiritual hymns of Fabricius, welling up as they do from the deepest sources of Christian experience, have never since been equalled by any missionary poet. The only pity is that they are now almost forgotten by the English and American Societies working in the Tamil country, simply because these latter are not familiar with the German tunes" (*Basle Missionary Magazine*, 1868, p. 189). When after the capture of Pondicherry, the principal fortress of the French, in 1761, Fabricius was presented by the English with a printing press which they had found there, the quiet and industrious missionary was able at once to proceed with the publication of his carefully executed literary labours. The chief of these were the different editions of his Old and New Testaments; in 1774 there appeared his Tamil Hymn-book, containing over 100 hymns; in 1778 his Tamil Grammar, specially intended for the use of young missionaries; in 1779 the Tamil-English, and in 1786 the English-Tamil parts of his Dictionary.

In the midst of these labours Fabricius did not by any means neglect the seeds of the gospel which had been blown far and wide by the storms of the war. Through his careful pastoring there grew up out-stations all round Madras, at Pulicat, Sadras, Chingleput, and Vellore. The native membership, including these out-stations, increased during his fifty years' labour from 240 to nearly 4000. But it must be admitted that there is no evidence of any advance on the part of this large congregation to spiritual or even to outward ecclesiastical independence, or of the training of any trustworthy native teachers or preachers. With an indiscretion which observation shows to be not uncommon among men of a similarly introspective nature, Fabricius had unfortunately for a long time past been engaged in extensive money transactions.[1] He lent money at a high rate of interest, and received as security plots of ground, villages, and even small estates. Since during the unsettled times of the war, when all business came to a stand-

[1] It would be unjust to pass sentence upon the unwise financial operations of Fabricius, and later of Kiernander, according to the standard of the regular monetary transactions of the present day; the great uncertainty of the money market at that time, especially in India, explains much, without however excusing it.

still, Madras with its powerful English fortress seemed to offer the best security for money, widows and orphans, mission workers, and even the Administration of the mission, had placed important sums of money in Fabricius' hands, and he had invested them in the usual manner; but he was basely misled and deceived by a dishonest catechist, Gurupadam, in whom he reposed a blind confidence. His principal debtor was a Muhammadan, Baron Bommarasa, the son-in-law of the Nawab of Arcot. This man became bankrupt, took to flight, and in the end died, without paying anything he owed; and the Nawab refused to acknowledge the debts of his faithless and spendthrift relative. For Fabricius this was a terrible disaster. His debts became enormous; a sum of more than 100,000 thalers was concerned, and that at a time when money was particularly scarce. His colleagues, especially Schwartz, lost almost all they had; many widows and poor Christians were deprived of everything down to their very last farthing. Fabricius was sent to the debtors' prison again and again. The last thirteen years of his life (1778–1791) were darkened by this disaster. His boundless good-nature and credulity, the baseness by which his "right hand," Gurupadam, exploited his weak memory and his inability to judge prudently in money matters, not only made his name a byword in the mouths of the English and the heathen, but likewise brought severe scandal upon the whole mission. Fabricius died, old and weary of life, on January 23rd, 1791.

Fabricius' great contemporary, the brightest star in the constellation of the Danish missionaries, was Christian Friedrich Schwartz. Born on October 22nd, 1726, at Sonnenberg, in the Neumark, he received instruction in the Tamil tongue even before he left Halle from his fellow-countryman, Benjamin Schultze, who had just returned from India. On July 16th, 1750, he landed at Cuddalore with two comrades, David Polzenhagen and Hüttemann, and never again quitted South India to the day of his death in 1798. Schwartz was by no means a brilliantly gifted man; even in his missionary labours he never struck out any new lines of work. He did not bring the Tranquebar Mission to a higher stage of development, he simply extended its operations. But the younger Francke, who had sent him out, was not mistaken in his man; what distinguished him was the peculiar "vivacity and the unmistakable purity" of his nature. Whilst other missionaries in the course of years suffered from the withering influence of the natural, and still more mental and moral climate of their environment, every fresh task seemed to fill Schwartz with yet greater "vivacity," and to help him to some inward victory; he grew perceptibly

along with his growing ideals, and at the same time the purity of his heart, his insusceptibility to flattery, his incorruptibility in money matters, his unassuming and simple faithfulness, the frank straightforwardness of his relations with both the great and the humble, were so self-evident that he enjoyed the general confidence of the community as perhaps no other missionary in India has ever done.

Let us describe Schwartz's appearance as it is set down for us by an eye-witness: "Figure to yourself a short well-made man, somewhat above the middle size, erect in carriage and address, with a complexion rather dark though healthy, black curled hair, and a manly engaging countenance expressive of unaffected candour, ingenuousness, and benevolence, and you will have an idea of what Mr. Schwartz appeared to be at first sight. . . . A dish of rice and vegetables dressed after the manner of the natives was what he could always sit cheerfully down to; and a piece of dimity dyed black, and other materials of the same homely sort, sufficed him for an annual supply of clothing."[1]

During the first decade (1750–1762) that Schwartz laboured at Tranquebar he attracted practically no more attention than the other missionaries. Several lengthy journeys to Madras, Ceylon, Tanjore, and Trichinopoly widened his horizon and made him familiar with the land and its people. At Trichinopoly he obtained such a hold over the sorely neglected garrison that the commander urged him to settle down there permanently. After thorough consultation with his colleagues, he acceded to this request, being convinced that the time had now come when the gospel must be carried to the very heart of the Tamil country, and that Trichinopoly would make a good centre for such an enterprise. For sixteen years (1762–1778) he laboured there, being the founder of the mission station in that town. That he at once set about proclaiming the Word of God to the heathen and Muhammadans both in the crowded city and also in the thickly populated surrounding districts, both in season and out of season, that he faithfully gathered together and tended the Christians who had been banished to Trichinopoly from Tanjore and Tranquebar, and ever sought to increase their number by fresh converts, that he prepared the latter for baptism by careful daily teaching extending over a period of several months, that he made an immediate beginning with educational work, and for many months taught and catechised four hours a day, scarcely needs to be mentioned. It was merely the daily round of his laborious life. Trichinopoly was at that time the second

[1] *C. F. Swartz*, by H. Pearson, Dean of Salisbury; cited from letter written by W. Chambers.

capital of the Nawab of Arcot, who often resided there. In order to be able to carry the gospel to this capricious Muhammadan ruler and his court, Schwartz quickly learnt Hindustani, and later, that he might appear a fully trained scholar in their eyes, Persian. The Nawab was the ally of the English, and a detachment of the latter occupied the fortress at Trichinopoly. Amongst this English garrison Schwartz soon found one of the main branches of his work, and in 1767 he was officially transferred to the English by the authorities of the Danish Mission, and made an English chaplain, with the proviso, however, that at any time he might return to full connection with the mission. As army chaplain he accompanied the English troops to Madura, when that town was besieged and captured, and in a camp devastated by infectious diseases he proved himself a good Samaritan indeed, until he himself was taken seriously ill. When through a powder explosion in the Fort at Trichinopoly, and through the heavy losses in the war with Madura, a number of the children of European soldiers were left fatherless, he founded in addition to his other work an orphan school, and as there was a scarcity of teachers was compelled to devote to it some of his own time. Thus work multiplied in his hands, and none but a Schwartz could have accomplished it without becoming exhausted both in body and soul—especially at Trichinopoly, the red-hot "gridiron of India."

In the meantime the way was being opened for closer relations with the royal house of Tanjore. About 1763 the learned, kindly, but morally weak Maratha Rajah, Tulsi, debilitated and unnerved by lifelong dissipation, came to the throne. As a matter of fact Trichinopoly too was a part of his dominions; but the Nawab, who had robbed him of this fat morsel, would only too gladly have taken with it the whole kingdom of Tanjore. As the English were his allies, he hoped to have the benefit of their assistance in a raid he was organising in order to carry out this project. Tulsi was too weak to oppose the Nawab himself, and his relations with the English just at this time were of a very strained nature. In this condition of affairs he conceived a desire to attract to his court the universally esteemed Schwartz, who possessed, moreover, the favour of the English, in order to have one trustworthy man at his side during all these complicated transactions. But the Brahman advisers of the Rajah were far from desiring the presence at court of one whose fidelity to Christianity was never known to waver, and they were able to prevent the Rajah from entering into any closer relationship. In the meantime, the Nawab had carried out the threatened attack upon Tanjore (1773); the capital was stormed, the Rajah taken prisoner, dethroned, and

cast into prison, where he languished for two years and a half. But the Nawab was mistaken in his English confederates: they did not view with favour any additions to his power, least of all that of this rich kingdom; they determined to reinstate the Rajah, and the Nawab was forced to give way (1776). Schwartz had the joy of announcing to the imprisoned and greatly humiliated Rajah the news of his rehabilitation. The personal friendship commenced during these days of sorrow led in 1778 to Schwartz changing his residence from Trichinopoly to Tanjore, which thus became a station of the mission. It was here he lived and worked during the last two decades of his life (1778–1798).

Just as at an earlier period (1764) Schwartz had extended his connections as far as Madura, so he now travelled down to Tinnevelly, near the southern extremity of India (1778). In the fortress of Palamcottah, near Tinnevelly, was a little English garrison, and amongst the Tamil soldiers who formed part of it were fifty or sixty Christians who had been members of the congregations at Trichinopoly and Tanjore. Schwartz preached to the English and to the Tamil converts, and sought to establish amongst them a native Church. On this occasion too he baptized a Brahman widow, Clarinda, who had already been a candidate for baptism in Trichinopoly, but whom Schwartz had to refuse on account of her dubious relations with an English officer. Thenceforward she became the life and soul of the Christian propaganda in Tinnevelly. Schwartz thought this province a most promising one, and never allowed the relations established on this journey to be interrupted. We shall come across the results of his visit later, when we deal with the missionary history of this district.

In the following year (1779) the English themselves made use of Schwartz as a political agent. At this time the danger threatened by the Maratha rebel, Haidar Ali, the usurper of Mysore, was at its most critical stage. The English, who well knew that this artful prince had entered into a compact with their enemy the French, and that therefore a collision with him would be inevitable, desired to delay the issue, because they did not yet feel themselves strong enough for it. They dispatched an embassy, therefore, to his court at Seringapatam, and in order to give it an appearance of credibility induced the missionary, who did not see through their tactics, and who hoped to be able to establish peace, to accompany this embassy. The negotiations were fruitless. Haidar Ali appears to have got to know the plans of the English. Both on the journey and in Seringapatam Schwartz employed every spare moment in the proclamation of the gospel and in spiritual ministrations

to the neglected Europeans. Hardly had he got back to Tanjore, when Haidar Ali's hordes of light horsemen poured across the defenceless Tamil lowlands, burning and devastating the whole country; they swept right up to the gates of Madras and were within a hair's breadth of capturing that fortress by surprise. The Cauvery forts that fell into their power, especially the towns of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, were not prepared for a siege and were insufficiently provisioned. The peasants of the rich surrounding districts, who had been so often previously deceived by both parties, would give up their stores of rice neither at the orders of the Brahmans nor yet those of the English officers. Schwartz had to intervene; he pledged his own name as a guarantee for the actual payment, and the stores at once began to flow in. Foreseeing the evil days, Schwartz had also bought large quantities of rice out of his own private means, and was thereby able, as soon as the trouble came, to feed hundreds. It was no wonder that numbers of them indicated their desire to be received into the Christian Church. When in 1782 the old lion, Haidar Ali, died and things began to go less successfully with his son Tipu Sahib, so that he seemed to be willing to treat for a cessation of hostilities, Schwartz was again chosen to accompany the embassy of peace. But he was only allowed to go as far as Satyamangalam, Tipu Sahib forbidding him to proceed farther. This time, however, peace was actually brought about at Mangalore (1784).

In the years that followed Tulsi so mismanaged and impoverished his land that the English interfered and appointed an Advisory Council. So great was their confidence in Schwartz that they added his name as honorary member of the Council to those of the three lay members; he had equal powers with them, and frequently gave the casting vote on whatever business they had in hand.

In 1787 Rajah Tulsi lay on his death-bed. At the last moment he had adopted as heir his ten-year-old nephew, Serfoji. He would have liked to appoint Schwartz guardian and in consequence Regent of the land during his heir's minority; but Schwartz persuaded him to entrust both offices to his brother, Amir Singh. This latter was recognised, therefore, as Regent by the people of the country and by the English. But his misgovernment was so scandalous, and his designs upon the throne and life of the young prince entrusted to his care so obvious, that eventually the English deprived him of the government and the administration of justice, and conferred both offices upon Schwartz; he was appointed as English "Resident" for two years, and extensive powers were entrusted

to him. In such a position he had necessarily to devote a large part of his time and strength to the reorganisation of the ruined finances of the country and to administering its laws. His modest house and garden were beset early and late by a crowd of rich and poor seeking his counsel or his help. It was a magnificent feature of the work of this unpretentious man that in spite of his lofty and influential position and in spite of all the thronging cares of state, he yet found time to teach in the day school and to prepare catechumens for baptism. He entrusted the education of young Serfoji to his faithful and gifted colleague Gericke at Madras, until he was set upon the throne by the English in 1796. The young prince, accessible as he was to Christian influences, regarded Schwartz as the saviour of his life and his father.

With Schwartz taking up such an influential position in Tanjore, it was not to be wondered at that the work founded half a century before by Rajanaiken and his followers made rapid headway. Schwartz specially exerted himself to obtain an entry into the Kallan villages lying south and south-east of Tanjore. The Kallans are one of the most peculiar of the thief and robber castes of Southern India; they practise theft both as a caste duty and as a profession, and are an ill-reputed and violent race. A part of this caste, consisting of the inhabitants of several districts, was won over by Schwartz to Christianity, and even though the old evil practices were not easily given up, and though these Kallan congregations have given later missionaries a lot of trouble, yet even to-day they still remain part and parcel of the Tanjore Church. At Schwartz's death this latter numbered 2800 souls. What a far-seeing and energetic man Schwartz was may also be seen by his work in another direction. John Sullivan, the English Resident at Tanjore, conceived the sagacious idea of founding in the principal centres of the Tamil country high schools for native children, with obligatory instruction in English, with a view to introducing the English language and English ideas into India. But Sullivan was wise enough to see that, as things then were, he could only hope for success with his scheme if the missionaries took over the direction of these so-called provincial schools. Without a moment's hesitation Schwartz promised the necessary help, since unreserved permission was given him to teach Christianity in those schools. Thus English schools were inaugurated at Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Ramnad—the first attempt, though unfortunately one destined to early failure, to establish a Western school system.

During the last years of his life Schwartz saw with great pain the decline of interest in Germany in foreign missionary

work. It was a comfort to him to leave his Trichinopoly work in the hands of the faithful Pohle. For his beloved work at Tanjore he himself provided a successor in his foster-son, Kaspar Kohlhoff the younger. Schwartz never married, and when on one occasion a Danish naval chaplain recklessly sent him out a wife, who moreover had behaved most scandalously during the long sea-voyage, he unceremoniously refused her and sent her back. On the other hand, he loved young Kohlhoff as his own child, and it was an unspeakable joy to Schwartz to ordain him on the occasion of the jubilee of the ministry of the elder Kohlhoff (1787). "What I felt on this, the most affecting day of my life," he said, "it is impossible for me to describe." For over fifty years (1787–1844) young Kohlhoff continued his work in Tanjore. In the beginning of the nineties Schwartz came to feel more and more the troubles and trials of old age, and at the end of 1796 a severe sickness laid him aside, from which, to the amazement of all, he recovered. But in February 1798 death came upon him suddenly; his last days were truly devoted and peaceful. Mentally vigorous right up to the end, surrounded by faithful colleagues, loved and cherished like a father by his Tamil helpers, he was able even on his death-bed to give utterance to many wise and spiritual counsels, which were for long treasured up in faithful hearts.

Schwartz's unique position in Tanjore had also enabled him to procure most advantageous sites for his churches. One of the places of worship erected by him is very close to a pool of especial sanctity, and lies within the precincts of the Fort; the other, and with it the whole of the station as he afterwards developed it, is situated in a suburb where the grateful generosity of the prince had assigned a large plot of ground for the foundation of two little Christian villages. With his few needs we can scarcely wonder that Schwartz should have left a large amount of money, between £9000 and £10,000 sterling, especially when we remember that in the last decades of his life he had received a very high salary, and was moreover frequently presented with handsome gifts. He bequeathed it all to the native Church, especially in the form of endowments for the poor, and for schools.

Unspeakably more important for the mission and for the native Christians than the money he left behind, was the good name of the "Royal Priest of Tanjore," which clung to him long after his death, and which even to-day pervades the Tamil Mission like a gracious perfume. In recognition of his valuable political services the East India Company erected a marble monument to his memory in one of the churches of Madras. Far

more touching and attractive, however, is the other monument which was set up by the grateful Serfoji in the garrison church at Tanjore, upon which was placed the often cited English inscription :—

> "Firm wast thou, humble and wise,
> Honest, pure, free from all disguise,
> Father of orphans, the widow's support,
> Comfort in sorrow of every sort.
> To the benighted, dispenser of light,
> Doing and pointing to that which is right;
> Blessing to princes, to people, to me;
> May I, my father, be worthy of thee!
> Wisheth and prayeth thy Saraboji!"

After the death of Pressier in 1738 and the return to Europe of Walther in 1739, the work at Tranquebar had passed through a period of settled calm—though faithful and active missionaries had by no means been lacking, as the names of Wiedebrock and John (who died in 1813) testify. The staff was further notably reinforced by the addition of missionary doctors, such as Martini (d. 1791) and his successor, the younger Klein. But none of these men stood up prominently above his colleagues, nor earned for himself special distinction. The church membership, too, for a considerable number of years increased regularly. But for the most part the work of the missionaries was confined to the town, and they left to their younger brethren the instruction of the candidates for baptism, who at certain periods of the year streamed into Tranquebar, and to the native preachers and catechists the preaching up and down in the country and the oversight of the widely separated country stations. A further advance was made by the erection of the stately and massive "Bethlehem" church in the town of Poriar in 1746: this church was worked, however, by the Tranquebar pastorate. The work now seemed to centre itself more and more in educational activity, and John, who was specially gifted in this direction, soon became a zealous advocate of this policy. Partly, it must be admitted, to help on his finances, he established a large school at Tranquebar for the children of Europeans and wealthy natives. The school and "pension" must have been wisely directed. But of direct help to missions through its agency there was none; for none of the pupils entered into the missionary service, still less were any catechists or native preachers recruited from amongst them. For the newly arrived missionaries it was far more comfortable to give instruction in this magnificent school, and to be well paid for it, than to toil at the difficult Tamil language, or to travel up and

down in the country districts. The older missionaries also, such as John and Rottler, found their time fully taken up by the institution: John's Tranquebar Institution was the forerunner of Marshman's at Serampore; but the founder and director of the latter received no salary, and besides his educational work he rendered, along with his excellent wife, the greatest services to the cause of missions, while the same cannot be said of the work of John.

Unfortunately the mission work carried on for forty years in Tranquebar by the Moravian Brethren forms only an episode in the history of the Danish Mission. The Missionary Board of the Moravians in 1739 received a request from Denmark to evangelise and colonise the small and scattered islands of the Nicobar group, situated in the eastern portion of the Bay of Bengal; the Tranquebar missionaries had themselves made an attempt in this direction, but it had failed owing to the early death of their representative, the godly David Polzenhagen. The Brotherhood accepted the very unpromising offer on being presented with important privileges in all the Danish possessions in the East Indies, and especially the right to found a strong missionary centre in Tranquebar (where they were to enjoy perfect religious freedom), as a base for the work in the remote Nicobar Islands. In 1760 a company of fourteen Brethren landed at Tranquebar, and their number was increased in the following year. They bought a garden plot, the Garden of the Brethren, situated near the town, and proceeded to settle there. The Lutheran missionaries gave them a most unfriendly reception, and with the utmost pettiness of spirit and the most unworthy misrepresentations and calumnies they succeeded in bringing it about that at length the Brethren were forbidden to exercise their missionary calling in public, and were confined within the four walls of their "Garden." For twenty years (1768–1788) the projected Nicobar Mission passed from one stage of distress and disappointment to another. The climate proved to be positively deadly; the population, which was split up into numberless little tribes each speaking widely different Malayan dialects, belonged to the very lowest stage of civilisation, and did not show itself responsive to Christian influences. Communication with the outside world was so rare and so unsafe that the missionaries had to depend for their support entirely on the work of their own labour, which in such a climate was an impossibility. After eleven of the twenty-four Brethren sent out had died at Nancowry, their station on the Nicobar Islands, and the thirteen remaining had died soon after their return to the "Garden of the Brethren" at Tranquebar, the

hopeless post was given up (1788). At Tranquebar the Brethren who were still sent out in large numbers confined themselves with praiseworthy meekness to their own quarters, in order to avoid any collision with the Lutherans, who however stood in urgent need of their help, both on account of their own paucity of men and also on account of the doors that were being opened up to them in every direction, especially in Tinnevelly and Madura. But they would sooner have seen their work run aground than summon the "brethren who were in the other ship" to their aid. After the Herrnhuters had patiently withstood continuous ill-fortune and disappointment for over forty-three years, the "Garden of the Brethren" was at length closed in 1803. No less than seventy Brethren had been sent out in the first twenty-five years, more than three times as many missionaries as had come out during the same period in connection with the Danish Mission, and all this splendid missionary force was crushed out of existence through pure denominational jealousy. The sole success the Brethren won was that "through the practical demonstration of Christianity which they gave in their life and conduct, the attention of many was drawn to the essential principles of the Christian religion."

Just as the mission itself had undergone great changes, consequent on its extension to Madras and Cuddalore in the north, and to Trichinopoly and Tanjore in the west, so had the external circumstances of the Danish missionaries been subject to great alteration. The first of their number had been sent out as "royal Danish missionaries," and had received their stipends from the treasury of the Missionary College, whose funds were made up, partly of private subscriptions from the King and other members of the Royal Family, and partly of contributions from the royal treasuries of Denmark and Norway. It is obvious that since the funds of the Mission were of this semi-official nature they could only be used in the interests of actual Danish possessions, *i.e.* on behalf of the evangelisation of the little Danish colony of Tranquebar. All the other principal stations lay outside Danish territory. Now in 1709 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K., founded 1698), stimulated by the words of the Lutheran court preacher in London, Böhme, had begun to support the Danish Mission, though at first only with individual and irregular gifts. In 1728, on being approached by the missionary B. Schultze, this Society determined to adopt Madras as its special mission field and Schultze as its first Indian missionary; in 1730 it invited from Germany the excellent Sartorius to enter its service. It thus took its stand

alongside the Danish Missionary College as a more or less independent Missionary Board, without however any attempt being made to carefully define the rights of either. For as a matter of fact all that either Missionary College or Missionary Society had to do was to pay the missionaries' salaries. The Francke Institutions selected the missionaries, and the Franckes, both father and son, saw to it most jealously that only Germans, and students and friends of their own establishment, were employed. Fenger, a Dane, testifies (according to one of Dal's letters): "All the affairs of the mission are transacted in German; it is the language used in the Conferences, in the Collegiis biblicis, and in the prayer-meetings; letters to other missionaries, to England, to Denmark, to one's superiors even, are written in German, and German letters are received in return" (Fenger, *History*, p. 163). It was only to be expected that, in view of this German character of the work, the Lutheran pietism of Halle should wholly dominate the mission in India. A few missionaries such as Schwartz, though even he had his scruples, were broad-minded enough to use the Book of Common Prayer for the English who attended their services. But when Geister, a weak and unreliable fellow, sought to introduce the English Catechism into the mission schools at Madras, even the mild Fabricius lost his temper, and went so far as to break off all intercourse with his self-willed colleague; and Francke the younger wrote on this occasion: "Rather let everything decay and fall to pieces than agree with any such proceeding. If the English Society in Madras will not reverse the decision, the Danish missionaries must retire to Tranquebar, and we shall withdraw all supplies." "The Mission at Madras was commenced as an evangelical Lutheran Mission . . . and it must never be regarded in any other light than as an evangelical Lutheran Mission." Apart from this the missionaries were practically untroubled by restrictions from the home authorities. Rev. A. Westcott, a High Churchman who would naturally have stood up for all the rights of his own Church with regard to this mission—which afterwards passed into the hands of the Anglicans—writes (in *Our Oldest Indian Mission*, p. 19): "The missionaries themselves used to confirm and meet together for ordinations. The catechists used to baptize. Each congregation was independent and ruled by its own missionary, although the missionaries would occasionally meet, as it were, in Synod, and were in the habit of accepting guidance of any more prominent men, as, for example, of Schwartz, whom his brother-missionaries always regarded as their spiritual father and created into a quasi-bishop. Each missionary in local affairs was assisted by his catechists, who, under his presidency, formed a sort of

disciplinary council, the decisions of which in various matters brought before them were usually confirmed by the civil power. The missionary was in fact regarded as the head of a community, on the same principle as native headmen were recognised, and was permitted to fine, flog, and otherwise punish offenders belonging to his community." There was thus a most peculiar and complicated condition of things—three governing bodies working side by side, but whose respective rights were as yet wholly undefined, and each of which had under its auspices missionaries and native churches practically independent. It is no wonder that when in the nineteenth century the rights of missions and missionary societies were placed on a very much firmer basis, and when the governing bodies of the different societies, which had hitherto worked happily together, took up a position of complete separation, unedifying friction often occurred.

We are unable to state the exact number of members composing the various native churches under the direction of the mission at the close of the eighteenth century, *i.e.* about the time of Schwartz's death. According to calculations made by Chaplain Hough at Palamcottah, which were based on the Lutheran Church records, the total number of converts baptized prior to 1806 was—

In Tranquebar, together with country congregations and including Tanjore up to 1778	20,014
In Tanjore, 1778–1806 (*i.e.* after Schwartz's advent there)	3,000
In Trichinopoly, from 1762 (,, ,, ,,)	2,463
In Madras, from 1727	4,851
In Cuddalore, from 1737	2,104
In Tinnevelly, from 1778	4,538
Sum total	36,970

We are justified in concluding that not more than half of these would have been removed by death or other causes; we may therefore count the entire number of adherents of the Danish Mission about the year 1800 at from 18,000 to 20,000 souls.[1]

Fifty-seven Danish missionaries went out to India between 1706 and 1846; 20 died and were buried in Tranquebar, and 22 at other stations in the Tamil country; only 15 returned to their fatherland.

[1] Hough, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. iii.

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1. THE AGE OF WILLIAM CAREY (1792–1833)

(a) *The Dawn of Modern Missions in India*

JUST as the Danish Mission, with the one exception of the little Danish settlement of Tranquebar, had substantially identified itself with the English colonies in South India, halting where they halted and advancing where they advanced, so modern missionary work in India has as its background and setting the Anglo-Indian Empire; it is intimately connected with the beginnings of that empire, and has extended along with it from one end of the country to the other. This fact must be borne in mind when seeking rightly to estimate the importance of English colonisation for Indian missions. No thanks, however, is due in the matter to the East India Company, the founder of this magnificent empire. That Company gave no helping hand to missionary work; it performed the services of herald and forerunner to which Providence had called it in an unwilling and reluctant manner, and every foot of broad land which the cause of missions gained had to be wrung from it by main force.

For one and a half centuries, from its founding in 1600 up to the battle of Plassey in 1757, the East India Company had been simply a commercial undertaking, and had contented itself with dotting all round the coast trading-ports and factories which were hardly as important as those European settlements that we find to-day in the Treaty Ports of China. Moreover, it was animated by the true small tradesman's policy of seeking on the one hand its own enrichment, and on the other of driving from the field or attempting to cripple—and that often by unfair means—rivals who poured into the country from every quarter, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Danes, and Portuguese. The policy of blow upon blow and stroke upon stroke inaugurated

by those strenuously active leaders and Governors, Clive and Warren Hastings—which led in South India to the prolonged and dire struggle with France already alluded to—shook the province of Bengal into the hands of the Company as ripe fruit is shaken from the tree. The possession of this province, which in extent, population, and the inexhaustible fertility of its soil far surpassed the mother country, was all the more valuable because there lay on the farther side of it, helpless and crouching at the feet of the conquerors, the empire of the Great Moghuls, Hindustan, with its untold wealth and its vast territories stretching away into what was then well-nigh unrealisable distance.

Up to this time the Company had not taken the slightest interest in the spiritual welfare of the Hindus. It is true that in the Charter of 1698 there was a clause: "The chaplains in the factories are to study the vernacular language, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or slaves of the same Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant religion;" but in the general scramble for riches the clause had remained a dead letter. However, in the very next year after Plassey, 1758, Protestant missions were commenced in Bengal. A Swede, Rev. John Kiernander, who had been sent out to South India by the Danish Missionary Board, found himself homeless in consequence of the pillaging of the town and mission station of Cuddalore by the French in 1757; and, as the entire south was re-echoing with strife and the shock of battle, he turned his steps towards Bengal. The time was ripe for his coming. A few clergymen had, it is true, been sent out from time to time to the English in North India; but some of them received such infinitesimal salaries that they were obliged to eke out a livelihood by engaging in business, others had not sufficient spiritual and moral grit to keep themselves unspotted from the world in the dissolute atmosphere of Anglo-Indian society, whilst yet others were already bringing over from England the colourless and unsatisfying Deism of their time. In a word, they were not "salt," they gave forth no "savour." Besides all this, the last two of these clergymen had just perished in the frightful tragedy of the Black Hole, 1756, and for the moment there was not one clergyman left in Calcutta. So Kiernander was gladly welcomed. Without hesitation, Clive allowed him a free hand in the discharge of his missionary duties. He soon created for himself a sphere of influence such as he had had amongst the Tamils; he preached to the English and administered to them the sacraments; and he gathered together a congregation of "Portuguese." (This was the name commonly bestowed at that time upon the offspring of European fathers

and native mothers. It was applied in the first place to that older and fairly numerous generation now called the Goanese, who, dating from the days of Portuguese colonial supremacy, adhere even in our own time almost entirely to the Roman Catholic Church, and have well-nigh sunk to the level of an Indian mixed caste; it was likewise applied to the newer and rapidly increasing generation of English descent who have since the middle of the last century conformed for the most part to the Protestant Church—the present-day Eurasians.) For these different classes of people Kiernander built schools, and at great personal sacrifice and at a cost of £8000 sterling (for he had married a lady of wealth) he built the great, so-called "Old Church," which in the hands of the C.M.S. is still in active use, and which for thirty years was the only Christian church in Bengal. He called it "Beth Tephillah," the "House of Prayer." A young German missionary, Rev. J. C. Diemer, was sent to his assistance, but does not appear to have remained long. Kiernander himself stayed at his post for twenty-eight years (1758–1786), and his work was much blessed. At his death there was a congregation of 301 members, of whom half were English, and almost all the rest "Portuguese." As helpers in his "Portuguese" work he had the learned José da Costa, a former Dominican monk, who had been brought to the light by Fabricius in Madras, and the Padre Bento, likewise a converted Roman Catholic. It is scarcely right to say that Kiernander took part in actual mission work; he could speak neither Bengali nor Hindustani with any degree of ease; a few Christian tracts are asserted to have been translated into the vernacular either by him or with his help; he is also said to have baptized eight Muhammadans and ten Hindus. The only Christian Hindu of note at the arrival of the Baptist missionaries was Ganesa Das of Delhi, Persian interpreter and translator at the Supreme Court of Calcutta, who had been baptized by Kiernander in 1774. When Carey arrived at Calcutta, seven years after Kiernander's death, he was hardly able to discover a single vestige of his missionary activity. Furthermore, Kiernander's last days were full of gloom. He was quite blind. Through his own unbounded generosity and the folly of his son, he became a bankrupt and was thrown into the debtors' prison. His church came under the hammer, and was only saved thanks to the intervention of the noble Charles Grant. A successful operation once more gave Kiernander the use of his eyes. Freed from jail, he hastened to the Dutch colony of Chinsurah, where he wished to be appointed chaplain. There he died; his Calcutta work came to an end, because no one was sufficiently interested in it to carry it on. Thus Kiernander was

not a pioneer of Indian missions, and it should be remembered that the Government placed no obstacles in his way.

Contemporaneously with Kiernander, Moravian Brethren worked for a space of fifteen years (1777–1792) in Serampore (then belonging to Denmark and called Frederiksnagar); they also endeavoured to obtain a foothold in Calcutta and Patna. They learnt Bengali, compiled a Dictionary, and translated a number of books and Scriptures into the vernacular. But as no success whatever crowned their efforts, they lost heart and retired to Tranquebar in 1791, *i.e.* just before Carey's arrival. Scarcely a trace of their work appears to be extant either in Serampore or Calcutta.

Modern missionary work in India dates from November 11th, 1793, the day upon which William Carey[1] landed in Calcutta. Its first two decades were gloomy enough. The Company which on many occasions had supported missionary labour in the south of India and had always maintained a friendly attitude towards them, which had moreover allowed Kiernander to work undisturbed in Calcutta for a quarter of a century, had in the meantime changed its religious policy, and now adopted, definitely and resolutely, an inimical attitude towards missionary work. No preaching of the gospel was to be permitted in the Company's territories. When Rev. John Chamberlain, a Baptist missionary, was expelled from Hindustan on account of some harmless preaching at a great Indian *mela* at Hardwar, and complained about it to an otherwise well-intentioned Governor-General, the Marquess of Hastings, the latter coolly replied, "One might fire a pistol into a magazine and it might not explode, but no wise man would hazard the experiment." The opinion was general, "even amongst many of the most enlightened British officials in the country, that there could be no more dangerous means of estranging the hearts of the people from the Government, and no surer way of endangering the stability of the English rule, than by attempting to meddle with the religious concerns of the Hindus, however prudently and carefully one might set to work. All were convinced that rebellion, civil war, and universal unrest would certainly accompany every attempt to promote missionary enterprise, and, above all, that the conversion of a high-caste native soldier would inevitably mean the disbanding of the army and the overthrow of British rule in India." Thus did the English chaplain Fisher

[1] William Carey was born on August 17th, 1761, in the village of Paulerspury, in Northampton. He was the son of a poor country schoolmaster, and in his youth was a cobbler. In 1783 he joined the Baptists, and after overcoming unspeakable difficulties, he became the founder of the B.M.S. in October 1792, at Kettering. His manifold activities in arousing a missionary spirit in England and Scotland before his departure for India do not come within the scope of this work.

succinctly describe the general feeling in India on his arrival there in 1812.

As a matter of fact, every attempt on the part of the soldiers to embrace Christianity was suppressed in the Bengal army, though not in the armies of Madras and Bombay, which still remained independent. When in 1819 a Brahman of high rank, an orderly sergeant who had been decorated for bravery, Naick (Corporal) Prabhu Din by name, was baptized at Meerut, he was driven out of the army. In 1830, as the Government chaplain at Allahabad, Craufurd, was preparing to baptize some soldiers who had been converted through his teaching, this was not only forbidden in the strongest terms from Calcutta, but at the same time an order was issued to all the chaplains, forbidding them to speak to the Sepoys about religion under any circumstances whatsoever.[1]

Further, the English officials had, almost without exception, abandoned the principles of Christian morality. Even a Governor-General like Warren Hastings and his inconvenient rival, Philip Francis, were not ashamed to live in open adultery. Their sole connection with the Church was that once a year, at Christmas or at Easter, they attended divine service in great state. Then the natives, open-mouthed, assembled in droves to witness the extraordinary spectacle of Englishmen "doing *puja*"—worshipping, as they themselves were wont to do in presence of their idols. Over-zealous Orientalists, moreover, sang the praises of the religions of the East, especially of the then newly discovered Indian religions and systems of philosophy, and even if every one did not go so far as to declare them to be better and truer than Christianity, still the general opinion was that they were quite good enough for the Hindus, and better adapted to their necessities than Western forms of religion. Besides all this, the Company took up the narrow-minded point of view that it would have no European within its territories who was not engaged in its service or who did not hold its passport: if any such person were allowed, he would probably enter into business relationships behind its back and thus lessen its gains; or he might talk about its methods of colonial government on his return home, and there were many things which there was every reason to keep concealed from European eyes and ears.

(b) *The Serampore Trio*

With such surroundings and in such an atmosphere it was of course difficult for missionary work to gain any foothold at

[1] Stock, *History of C.M.S.*, ii. p. 237, and *Evang. Mission. Mag.*, 1858, p. 396.

all. For Carey there were also other additional hindrances. It was a certain Dr. Thomas,[1] a Baptist, who had first directed the attention of Carey and his friends to Bengal: in the founding of their mission they hoped great things from Thomas's medical experience, his knowledge of Bengali, and his acquaintance with the English as well as the Hindus of Calcutta. What they did not know was that Thomas, by his unsteady and eccentric conduct, his foolish debts and his hot-headed behaviour, had become the very *enfant terrible* of Calcutta society. Carey was not only discredited, but was also brought into great difficulties through being connected with him. It was because of Thomas that the missionaries were refused permission to go out on an English ship, and they were fortunate in finding a Danish one to take them. It was owing to him that the few English people of decided Christian character in Calcutta held entirely aloof from the newcomers. Moreover, Carey and his friends were boycotted in Calcutta because of their presumably apostolic ideal—that missionaries should support themselves as soon as possible, and earn their bread by the labour of their own hands. So that the first six months in India were very trying for Carey and his family, amongst the members of which Thomas must also be reckoned. Under the most unfavourable conditions they attempted several times to settle down as planters. The slender supplies which they had brought with them from England were soon recklessly squandered by Thomas. An attempt of Carey to obtain a profitable situation as a gardener in Calcutta failed. He and Thomas had at length to content themselves with a position as overseers of the Mudnabati indigo plantation in the out-of-the-way district of Dinajpur, in Northern Bengal. This post was obtained for them through the kindly offices of Udny, who had to lay down a large sum of money as security for their good behaviour. The six months of privation had robbed Carey of a child and his wife of her reason, and she remained in that unhappy condition until her death. In this retired and unhealthy indigo district the survivors, at any rate as far as their missionary activities were concerned, were as good as dead. A young missionary, Rev. John Fountain, who had been sent out subsequently and had been "smuggled" into the country as a man-servant, turned out to be such a red-hot Radical in politics that he did nothing

[1] Dr. John Thomas had come to India as ship's doctor in 1786, and had for three years been busily engaged in the service of that noble agent of the Company, Charles Grant, in order to go as missionary to Gomalti in Bengal—where he spent £1000 of Grant's money. Owing to his unstable ways and his debts, all relationship between the two men was at length, however, broken off. In 1792, therefore, he returned to England, in order to gain new friends.

but compromise both mission and missionaries. Under these circumstances it was a direct leading of Providence that when four other missionaries, amongst them being John Marshman and W. Ward,[1] were sent out in 1799 on board an American ship, they were sent on by the captain of the ship, on his own responsibility, to the Danish colony of Serampore, three miles north of Calcutta, and placed under the protection of the Danish flag. Carey perceived at once how much more advantageous Serampore was for the starting-point and future extension of the mission, abandoned all the laborious and difficult beginnings of work he had made in Mudnabati and Dinajpur, and in 1800 took up his residence also at Serampore.

It appears little less than a miracle that under such conditions and in spite of all these obstacles, the mission became not only firmly rooted in Calcutta and Bengal by 1813, but it even gained considerable power, before which in the end all opposition on the part of the Company was silenced. The principal rôle in this revolution of affairs was played by the famous "Serampore Trio," Dr. Carey and his two faithful comrades, Marshman and Ward. One cannot but esteem it as an especially gracious interposition of Providence that God should have brought this trio of wise and capable missionaries together, and have placed them at the commencement of mission work in India. They are its veritable pioneers. The education of all three was defective: Carey had been a cobbler from his earliest days, Ward a printer, Marshman a ragged-school teacher. But all of them were of that type of self-made men so frequently to be met with in English history, men of insatiable appetite for learning and of practical ability, who were dismayed by no difficulties, and whose industry and patience knew no limits. Carey especially was a man of heroic diligence. In all three the truth was abundantly verified that

[1] The other two, Brunsdon and Grant, died a few years later. Charles Grant, at that time a Director of the Company, had given all four the sage advice to proceed direct to Serampore, and to place themselves under the protection of the Danish flag. The Danish commander at that time, Colonel Bie, and since then the Kings of Denmark (up to 1845), deemed it a point of honour to be patrons of the youthful mission. An inauspicious star ruled the first years of the Serampore Mission. The very next year, 1800, the town was taken by the English, but after an occupation of over fourteen months it was again surrendered; from 1808 to 1815 it was once more in English hands, but the English left the missionaries undisturbed. Serampore was then at the height of its importance. It was the centre of all that commerce which was not entirely in the hands of the English: for the other two foreign settlements up the Ganges, the French Chandernagore and the Dutch Chinsurah, were occupied by the English during this whole period. It must be remembered that these non-English settlements were a veritable thorn in the flesh to the lords of the land, since everybody who came into collision with the English, and especially debtors, blacklegs, and the like, was accustomed to find a sure refuge there, far out of the reach of the English police.

the missionary calling is a high and noble school in which characters are wrought to fine issues and where gifts are developed which at home would probably have remained for ever dormant. Moreover, they were all three of boundless devotion to their calling, and filled with a holy determination to dedicate their whole being, all they had and every power of body and soul, to missionary work. And each acted as a complement to the other so perfectly and harmoniously that their living together tripled their power for work. They had one household in common in Serampore until their death, and stood by one another inseparably in weal and woe and during years of severest trial.

At this time England had had a real foothold in India for only about one generation, and as the first decades had been fully occupied with the inevitable task of inaugurating the new administration, people were but just beginning to investigate the country. It is very suggestive that in spite of their having been in possession for hundreds of years, neither Portugal nor Holland had done anything of importance for the scientific exploration of India. But no sooner did it come into the hands of the English than Anglo-Saxon, and soon Teutonic diligence also, grappled with the many problems which presented themselves on every hand. Sanskrit was rediscovered, and with its help comparative philology came into being. The old Indian Vedic and Epic literature was brought to light, and the new world of ancient Indian history attracted many investigators. The flora and fauna of the wondrous tropic belt was systematised, and one new species after another was discovered. In short, it was an era of great awakening for science in its most varied branches. At such a time it was remarkable that a missionary, Dr. Carey, should quickly take an important, nay rather, a commanding place in the ranks of the pioneers of scientific research. A happy series of events contributed thereto. The training of Anglo-Indian officials left much to be desired; very frequently unsuitable or insufficiently trained persons were sent out. Governor-General Lord Wellesley therefore conceived the plan of erecting a College in Calcutta for the training of candidates for the Indian civil and military services, and of making a three years' course there obligatory; and he was wise enough to attach special importance to the fact that young officials must be made acquainted with the languages of the country. The College was built at Fort William, near Calcutta, in 1801.[1]

[1] It will easily be understood that the English Directors of the Company viewed this very costly institution in anything but a friendly light. They contended—and we cannot but admit the correctness of their opinion—that the thorough training of

Carey, who by his recently published translation of the New Testament into Bengali had proved himself to be a complete master of that language[1]—in fact, the greatest living student of it—was made Master, and later, Professor of Bengali, Sanskrit, and Marathi. This eminent position brought him, together with a princely salary of £1200 per annum, a multitude of scientific activities and, thanks to his unceasing diligence, soon made a brilliant scholar of him. He gained so complete a command of the ever-difficult Sanskrit that he could speak it fluently, and published a Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary; he edited three volumes of the Ramayana and other old Sanskrit works; soon became the first authority on those dialects of Aryan origin which still survived, and was tireless in the composition of grammars and text-books in them. Besides this, he was one of the cleverest students of Indian flora, and he kept up a much-admired botanical garden in Serampore at his own expense. He founded the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Bengal, which soon became one of the most renowned and influential societies of the capital. The grateful Society honoured its modest founder by placing his bust in marble in their Assembly Hall. Finally, Carey was a member of a large number of the learned societies of Europe, and was in constant correspondence with the first Orientalists and botanists of his time.

English officials could be better accomplished in the healthy climate of England than in the damp heat of fever-swept Calcutta, and that a good general education according to English methods was at least as important for them as a knowledge of specific Indian subjects. They therefore founded Haileybury in England as a rival institution. Fort William College came to an end in 1830, but it did much good work during the thirty years of its existence. Haileybury too went down, after the Charter of 1853 had taken the magnificently paid Indian posts out of the hands of the clique of Directors, who always filled them with their own creatures and protégés, and had opened them to all British subjects. Another missionary besides Carey was also Professor for a time at the Fort William College, the German Pätzold, a former Danish missionary at Madras, being installed as Professor of Tamil. (Translator's Note.—The college at Haileybury just mentioned lasted from 1806 to 1858. The present public school dates from 1862.)

[1] Carey has peculiar claims on our regard because of what he did for the Bengali language. Of the modern Aryan languages of India, only two, Hindi and Marathi, had in his day an original prose literature. In Bengali there were nothing but "conceited" poems, the contents of which were of a religious or philosophic nature and were little known; in fact, they had well-nigh fallen into oblivion. Carey was the creator of Bengali prose. And how powerfully he impressed his own great personality on a task so apparently opposed to the ends he had in view, may be seen when one remembers that even to-day the Bengali language bears his ineffaceable stamp. He held it to be his duty to regenerate and enrich modern Indian speech with words borrowed from Sanskrit, just as modern French is enriched by *mots savants* taken from Latin. This lavish besprinkling of their language with Sanskrit words is so remarkably to the taste of Bengali writers that it has remained the most striking characteristic of their language—though whether it tends towards the development, and is to the advantage, of that language is a question upon which present-day philologists differ.

This active scientific life in the midst of which Carey now found himself naturally produced a very considerable literature. It was of course inconvenient for Anglo-Indian writers to have their books printed in England, because when that was done they could not correct the proofs, and also because there were not enough type-setters qualified to undertake work of such an academic character. In India, on the other hand, printing was still in its infancy and scarcely adequate to satisfy the most modest demands. Once more it was providential that Carey should have at his side the old printer Ward, who through extraordinary industry made himself master of his subject and built a magnificent printing-house, fitted up with its own paper-mill and type-foundry, in Serampore. For many of the tongues of India and Eastern Asia type was here first cast, and the earliest printed matter in such languages first brought out. Brilliant scholars like Colebrooke the Orientalist and Roxburgh the botanist sent their works here to be printed.

New days brought to the Anglo-Indians new practical problems, and not the least of these was the educational one. It was not at that time a hard-and-fast rule—since justified by experience—to send the children of Europeans, whilst still quite young, to be educated in England. Besides, the rapidly increasing number of Eurasians demanded the installation of schools and places of education. Once again Serampore led the way. The former ragged-school teacher Marshman found here a wide field for most useful activity. Together with his equally enthusiastic wife, Hannah Marshman, he founded a school for the children of educated parents which was attended before long by children of both sexes from the very highest families downwards, and which maintained its high reputation until Marshman's death in 1837.

Finally, the public press was at this time practically non-existent. Every attempt to create or to influence public opinion was looked upon by the ruling classes with distrust. And yet it was of the very deepest moment to the new lords of the land that they should get into closer touch with the Hindus, that they should understand them and be understood by them. It demanded the utmost tact and a very thorough knowledge of the whole situation for any one to dare to found a newspaper. And here once more Serampore made the start. After various small attempts, the three comrades founded in 1818 a Bengali newspaper, *Samachar Darpan* (the News-Mirror), and an English magazine, the *Friend of India*. Especially was the latter, during its lifetime of fifty-seven years (1818–1875), a most influential organ, and in all humane reforms, in the exposure of heathen outrages, and in the fight against the evil practices

of heathenism, it won for itself high name and praise. In this connection it should be noted that from the very beginning the Men of Serampore took up a neutral and loyal standpoint in politics, and they never once gave way to the temptation, which was in Danish Serampore an oft-recurring one, to agitate against the English Government. This was the more praiseworthy as, according to the widespread prejudice of the time, they were suspect to the authorities as "Anabaptists and democrats." By this upright political conduct they set a splendid example, which has since been almost universally followed by missionaries of all nationalities in India, and they thus rendered an invaluable service to the cause of Protestant missions.

It will be easily understood that labours so many-sided and of such great scientific and practical utility soon created for the Serampore Brethren a unique position in India, as well as in England. In India the most distinguished individuals, even the Governors-General, held it almost an honour to hold intercourse with Carey. Serampore became a much visited shrine for travellers of every description. And in England in every circle of society not totally blinded by prejudice the opinion ran, "If that is 'missions,' we can only be heartily thankful and wish them every success." Of course to-day we are all agreed that that part of the work of the Men of Serampore which has just been described was only loosely connected with real missionary enterprise, and if two or three missionaries were to enter upon the same branches of activity in India nowadays we should probably regard them most critically. But the historian has to appraise justly the position of things as they were at a given time, and before the door which the Serampore Trio opened so widely for Protestant missions every criticism is hushed to silence.

Alongside this comprehensive and many-sided general work they also did a great deal for missions financially. They were in a specially favourable position for so doing. The enormous salary which Carey drew as Professor at Fort William College and Government Translator, the very considerable returns made by some of his scientific books, the large profits of the two schools directed by the Marshmans, and the income from the journalistic branch of their work, put them in possession of very large sums of money. And they were unselfish enough to put by an ever-dwindling amount, at the very highest a tenth, for their own personal needs or, more particularly, to supply the wants of poor relatives. When Carey died in 1834, he was so poor that the greater part of his library had to be sold in order to bring together a small capital sum for one of his sons who

was in need. All the income flowed into a common purse, and was used according to the best of their power and knowledge for the building up of the kingdom of God.

We can only speak briefly of the little congregation of the faithful in and around Serampore who from 1801 onwards gradually came over to the side of the missionaries. For a time it seemed as though Carey would accomplish great things in this respect also. Within six years 96 adults were baptized, amongst them being six Brahmans and nine Muhammadans. But no far-reaching movement came of it. After Puri, Serampore is the principal seat of Jagannath worship; in the neighbourhood stands the famous shrine of Tarakeshwar. It is not propitious soil for missionary effort. In spite of much preaching in the bazaars, the cause at Serampore to-day has only increased to 238 members. But the missionary labour of the Men of Serampore was, like all their work, conducted on broad lines; it embraced the whole of India, nay, the whole of Southern Asia. It expressed itself chiefly in three directions.

Carey's dearest project was to give the Holy Scriptures to all the people of Asia in their own tongue. The translation of the Bible he regarded as his life-work; all his philological studies at Fort William College were made to contribute to it; the entire printing works at Serampore was really erected for the printing of the Bible. At Mudnabati Carey's first work had been to translate the New Testament into Bengali: the reading of the proofs of the eighth edition of the same book was the last thing he did, as he lay on his death-bed. If we sum up what Carey and his two associates translated themselves, what they had translated by their pundits but personally revised and corrected, and then what translations of the Bible were given them by friendly missionaries to be brought out by the Serampore press, we find that they worked upon at least forty translations of the whole Bible or parts of it. Carey's special share of these was the translation of the whole Bible into Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, and Sanskrit, and numerous portions of the Bible into other Indian languages and dialects. Almost all the important tongues and many of the dialects of India, and in addition Maldivese, Javan, Burmese, Malayan, and Chinese, — Marshman's hobby, — are represented in the Serampore publications. Modern Indian missions begin with a heroic attempt to give the Bible to all the peoples of the Southern Asia in their mother tongue; and this magnificent idea practically found its expression at Serampore. It must be frankly admitted that not one of these Serampore versions of the Bible is in use to-day. Soon after their publication, even, some were found to be inaccurate in language and imperfect

in idiom, and some indeed were so faulty that they had to be replaced by completely new versions. Even the best of them, such as Carey's Bengali and Sanskrit Bibles, have been so thoroughly revised by gifted linguists of later times, such as Yates and Wenger, that they may almost be termed new versions. In spite of all their linguistic ability, Carey and his colleagues scarcely realised the difficulty of their task when they attempted to Christianise heathen languages and transform them into vessels meet for their new and sacred contents. They translated the Bible into the different languages literally and at haphazard, just as a clever and diligent Sixth Form boy might translate the *Laocoon*[1] into Latin—perhaps with a correct rendering of the words, and such as a Roman might in a case of necessity have understood, but not in the least what a Cicero or a Cæsar would have spoken or written! It has become more and more doubtful since Carey's time whether it is either desirable or advisable to commence mission work among the heathen with translations of the Bible. For one thing, even in the case of an ancient and cultured people like the inhabitants of India, the number of those who can read even in our own day is insignificant—what is the good of literature for the masses who cannot read? So that, in spite of the inspiring and undoubtedly true narratives of isolated cases of conversion which have taken place simply and solely through reading the Bible, we must not exalt unduly the mere dissemination of the Scriptures, especially at the initiation of missionary work. It may indeed spread abroad a certain general knowledge of Christianity, but in the majority of cases it is found to be of potential value only in connection with and as a means of following up the preaching of the missionary. From this point of view the great majority of the Serampore translations of the Bible came into existence before their time. Despite this criticism, however,—which it is easy to make with the accumulated experience of a century of fruitful Bible translation behind us,—it was an entirely marvellous and, as far as missionary history goes, a simply unique accomplishment that at Carey's death the entire Bible should have been issued in six complete translations, the entire New Testament in twenty-three more, and besides these separate books of the Bible in ten other languages.

Carey and his helpers had, however, another great ambition: as far as possible to begin missionary labour amongst every people into whose speech they had translated the Bible. To

[1] (Translator's Note.—*Laokoon, oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und der Poesie.* The famous treatise on æsthetics published by the great German critic Lessing in 1766.)

this intent they sent out their envoys to Benares, Agra, and Delhi; to Jessore, Barisal, Dacca, and Chittagong in Eastern Bengal; to Dinajpur and Katwa in Northern Bengal; to the Khasia tribes in Assam; to Orissa, Nagpur, and even Bombay; to Burma, to the Moluccas, to Java. The English Baptists still occupy for the most part the stations planted by the Men of Serampore with such exultant energy in the first two decades of the last century—but with this difference, that to-day they by no means retain their hold upon all the land which was then possessed. With regard to this phenomenal extension of the work, criticism must again proceed cautiously. The Serampore Brethren did indeed found all these stations, but they founded, and for long years supported, them entirely out of their own means; they were willing to pay for them hundreds of thousands of pounds which they had first won by the sweat of their brow. All honour to such burning enthusiasm! And they never shrank from relinquishing districts they had already taken possession of, if there appeared on the scene another Missionary Society which they could trust to carry on the work with greater energy and more thoroughness. Nevertheless we cannot rid ourselves of the impression that in their pious zeal they entered into engagements far beyond their strength. It was therefore a good thing that the work in Burma, which they began in the years 1808–1818, was subsequently taken over by the American Baptists, the work in Orissa by the General Baptists, that in the Khasia Hills by the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, and that that in the Malayan Archipelago spontaneously came to a standstill when the Dutch regained the supremacy there. In spite of all this curtailment, it was a fine inheritance which the Three left when they laid down their toil: eighteen well-equipped mission stations and a fairly extensive system of elementary schools, especially in the neighbourhood of Serampore.

With these far-reaching missionary operations was associated the third great project of the Men of Serampore. For their many mission stations they needed a numerous missionary *personnel*. Since they had separated from the B.M.S. in 1816, and from that date had remained entirely independent—as we shall shortly narrate more particularly—they conceived the elaborate plan of establishing a missionary Seminary of their own in Serampore (1818–1821), where they intended to train their own missionaries, principally from amongst the Indian Christians. They were of opinion that such missionaries would be considerably less costly than Europeans, and that they had reason to be so satisfied with those already in their service as to proceed to a rapid augmentation of their number. As it

was their custom, however, to do everything on a large scale, they determined to make their Seminary an institution for higher education, almost a kind of Indian University. Within its walls Sanskrit and Arabic, Bengali and English, natural science and classical literature were to be taught. The Governor-General endowed a chair in medicine. The King of Denmark granted the College the right of conferring degrees on the same lines as was done in European universities. It was thus a most thoroughly and splendidly equipped College. We are again struck with admiration for the three doughty missionaries who paid out of their own pockets almost the entire cost (more than £15,000) of this building—which would have done credit to any University—and who for years met heavy liabilities in order to carry out this their pet scheme. They intended that at their death the professors of this College would assume the direction of their entire missionary work. Yet although we are compelled to acknowledge the heroic self-sacrifice of the Three Brethren, we cannot hide from ourselves the fact that the project contained great weaknesses. A College with such academic ambitions could only succeed in Calcutta, certainly never in the remote little township of Serampore. It was premature so long as the intermediate rungs in the educational ladder remained incomplete and the true foundation of academic studies unlaid. And the idea of converting India by means of independent and unattached Indian Christians is still unfortunately for several reasons an unrealised and Utopian dream.

The stamp of real greatness distinguishes all the projects and the enterprises of the Serampore Brethren; and it was a tragic circumstance that these lives, which had ever been "in labours more abundant," should be embittered during a decade and a half by a quarrel of the most petty character with the Society which Carey had himself founded, and which really existed on the strength of his success—the Baptist Missionary Society. We have already mentioned that Carey came out to India with the intention of relinquishing all support from home as soon as possible. He and his two friends received at the very most from the Missionary Committee a total sum of £1500, and before the outbreak of the quarrel in 1816 they had paid back this amount at least twentyfold—in fact, their personal gifts to the mission at that time came to close upon £1500 annually. But the mission premises at Serampore and part of the premises taken over by the Three for missionary purposes in other places stood in the name of the Baptist Missionary Society. After the deaths of Fuller, Sutcliff, and Ryland, co-founders with Carey of the Society and his lifelong friends,

and after a new generation, under the Missionary Secretary, Dr. Dyer, had come into the Mission House at home, the Society attempted to assert its legal rights and to appoint missionaries to Serampore as it thought fit. In petty fashion criticism was levelled against the manner of life, the successes, and the character of the three great men. After his first arrival in India Carey never again set foot on English soil, and Marshman did not pay his first visit home until 1826, after an absence of twenty-seven years. They were thus practically powerless against the intrigues of the younger generation in England, with whom unfortunately several of the junior Baptist missionaries in India made common cause. There ensued a hateful literary feud extending over a period of more than fifteen years. The Men of Serampore could only declare their withdrawal from the mission they themselves had brought into being. What a pity it was that the younger men understood so little their uniqueness and their greatness! To-day we can only read the annals of this unworthy strife with the deepest regret, and we cannot but rejoice that the Serampore Trio showed their real greatness to the very end, in that, through their testamentary arrangements, they closed up—after their deaths, at any rate—the rift which had been opened, and, in spite of everything, made their own Missionary Society sole heir to their entire work. Ward died of cholera in 1823; William Carey, venerated and beloved as any patriarch, of old age on June 9th, 1834; Marshman three and a half years later. Their colleagues, all of whom they themselves had appointed, and the professors of the College, especially Marshman's highly gifted son, a most talented writer, undertook the direction of the work until 1846. Then the entire mission was handed over to the Baptist Missionary Society. The latter continued the Serampore College until 1883, on what was practically the original foundation, complying only with the fresh regulations of the Government from time to time; in that year, however, they allowed it to come to an end. To-day the Baptist Seminary for teachers and preachers for the whole of Bengal is housed in the stately College buildings. Since the town and district of Serampore was surrendered by the Danes in 1845 the old mission station has also lost much of its importance. It is simply an outpost of Calcutta—and a much visited shrine for friends of missions who may be travelling in India.

(c) *Other Pioneers.* 1792–1813

The importance of India as the most valuable of England's colonial possessions, the growing acquaintance with its primeval

history and its countless millions of heathen, and the inspiring example of Carey and his co-workers, all tended to direct the immediate attention of friends of missions in English Christendom upon India. But the obstacles offered by the coldly repellent and even hostile attitude of the East India Company were great. They were vividly illustrated during the last few years of the eighteenth century by the Haldane case. Fired by Carey's reports, a rich and highly esteemed Scotch landowner, a former officer in the marines, Robert Haldane by name, sold part of his property near Airthrey and determined, with the help of three clergymen, who afterwards became very famous, to start a mission on a large scale at Benares. He intended to take out with him a complete equipment for a printing establishment and a complete staff of teachers and catechists. But in spite of influential connections in Government circles, he found it impossible to obtain permission even to sail for India, ostensibly because of his Radical leanings in politics. After that, the entire scheme was of course abandoned.

This was a case in which the East India Company succeeded in hindering a missionary expedition from setting out for India. It was more difficult to get rid of such expeditions when once they had landed there. In the year 1812 the two first American missionaries, Judson and Newell, arrived in Calcutta. They at once gave notice of their arrival to the police, and declared openly that they had come with the intention of establishing a mission in Bengal. A few weeks later six other missionaries, three Englishmen and three Americans, arrived in quick succession. That made eight new missionaries in a short space of time; and at such an abundance the anxious English were filled with terror. The five Americans were summarily expelled. Three of them, Judson, Newell, and Rice, obtained with difficulty permission to betake themselves to the out-of-the-way island of Mauritius. At the mouth of the Hooghly, however, Judson found a ship bound for Burma, at that time still an independent country, and fled thither. Rice returned for the time being to North America. The two other Americans secretly made their escape to Bombay, but a letter of arrest was immediately sent after them, ordering their deportation to England. The devout Governor of Bombay, Sir Evan Nepean, desired to protect them as far as he had the power to do so, but the two missionaries trusted even his influence so little that they decided to flee to Ceylon. They were overtaken, however, on the way by a stern order from Nepean commanding their instant return to Bombay. Of the three Englishmen who arrived simultaneously in Calcutta, two had sought refuge in Danish Serampore, and one in Dutch Chinsurah. But it was of

no use; they were ordered to be sent back to England. One of them was successful in "slipping away" to Java, which was then governed by the humane Sir Stamford Raffles. Another, the Rev. Mr. Johns, was sent back to England, in spite of all his protests, on board one of the Company's ships, and after his repatriation a bill of over £500 for travelling expenses was presented to his Society! The Company maintained its right to expel instantly any European who proceeded to India without its express permission, or who remained there without one of its specially drawn-up passes. It vindicated this right in the most ruthless fashion. Missionaries, as such, received a permit only in rare cases, and were thus thrown entirely on the goodwill of the local authorities. And from the intrigues of these latter they were not safe even when they had resided at a place for years. In the year 1811, Rev. J. Chamberlain, a Baptist missionary, received a pass for Agra. Scarcely had he commenced his labours there when, by order of the commander of the city, he was escorted back into Bengal by a convoy of Hindu sepoys. Notwithstanding this, he again found his way into Hindustan as private tutor to the children of an English official; but he was once more expelled, this time by special order of the Governor-General! It was in face of opposition such as this on the part of the all-powerful officials that Protestant missions in India were initiated.

The London Missionary Society, which had been founded in 1795, sent its first agent, Rev. Nathaniel Forsyth, to Calcutta in 1798. After feeling his way for a short time, he gave up all hope of evangelising that inhospitable city, and removed to the town of Chinsurah, situated some twenty-eight miles north of Calcutta, and then belonging to Holland. There, together with Rev. R. May, who was sent out to his help in 1812, he dedicated himself chiefly to the creation or the development of elementary schools—and without any immediate success. The London Society was eager for new enterprises. It wanted to stake out claims as quickly as possible at other points of the British possessions; Madras, Surat, Vizagapatam, Tranquebar, and other well-known places were written on its programme, and as early as the first decade of the nineteenth century it delegated missionaries to all these places. Vizagapatam was taken possession of by Revs. Aug. des Granges and George Cran in 1805. Of those appointed to Surat one entered the service of the Government at Bombay; the other, finding no opening for missionary activity, undertook the temporary direction of a men's asylum at Madras. There was but one door actually opened to the Society, and that from a quarter whence they least expected it. In 1797 the Society for

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Promoting Christian Knowledge had sent out to Calcutta Rev. W. T. Ringeltaube; he had returned to England a short time afterwards in despair, but had then entered the service of the London Missionary Society, and now went out a second time, to Tranquebar. There he was attracted by a remarkable travelling Sannyasi of Travancore, and after overcoming many obstacles at length took up his residence in Myladi, near the southern point of India, and found there, especially among the populous Shanans, an astonishingly fertile field. In ten years (1806–1815) he brought together more than 1000 Christians, of whom 677 were in 1812 admitted to Holy Communion after most careful examination. In an age of difficult beginnings this success was all the more noteworthy since it was the first, and so far, the only pledge of the richer and more plentiful harvests that were to be gathered in later.

In Church of England circles the attitude towards Indian missions was for the time being that of contented waiting. It is true that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge supported the Danish Mission; but with the first missionaries which it sent out on its own account the Society had nothing but misfortune. When Charles Grant, to whom we shall shortly refer in greater detail, promised a regular annual subscription of £360 on behalf of a missionary who should also preach in Kiernander's "Old Church"[1]—which Grant and two of his friends had bought at a sale by auction—a certain Rev. A. J. Clarke was sent out. But he soon proved to be anything but a success, and left the service of the Society within the year. In 1797 they sent out the German Ringeltaube, but in two years' time he lost heart and returned to England, to the painful surprise of the Society.

It was incomparably more important that a small but active and influential circle of Anglicans was formed in Calcutta, the members of which stood shoulder to shoulder and won to themselves great renown for laying the real foundations of the missionary activity of the English Church. These were the distinguished official of the Company, Charles Grant, — who was, from 1797, one of the Company's Directors in London,— Sir Robert Chambers and his brother William, and George Udny. The devout and far-seeing Grant was already writing the book which has since become famous, *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with Respect to Morals; and the Means of Improving it.* He laid this truly philanthropic pamphlet before the Court of Directors in 1800, but so little notice was taken of it that it soon lay forgotten in the dusty archives of the

[1] Cf. p. 130.

Company. But when, in 1813, the battle over the renewal of the Company's Charter broke out, Parliament ordered Grant's essay to be published, and it contributed not a little to the spreading abroad and the strengthening of views favourable to the cause of missions. Associated with these officials there was a small number of devout and learned Government chaplains, the "pious chaplains," as they were derisively termed. The first of these was Rev. David Brown, a friend of the great Cambridge preacher, Charles Simeon. He had been sent out by the Company as chaplain and governor of their military orphanage. Later he became the clergyman of Kiernander's "Old Church" for a quarter of a century, and he soon made it the spiritual centre of Calcutta, from which streams of blessing poured forth upon Anglo-Indian society. He was made Chancellor of Fort William College, which had been established by Hastings, and died in 1812. Claudius Buchanan, another of these chaplains, had lived in Calcutta since 1797, and Hastings created him Vice-Provost of the College.[1] In 1806–1807, at the request of the Government of Madras, he undertook a tour for purposes of discovery and inquiry amongst the Syrian Christians in Travancore, and in 1811 he published the results of his investigations in a book entitled *Christian Researches in Asia*, that quickly ran through four editions in England, and was also translated into other European languages. He died on February 9th, 1815. The third and fourth members of this group were Revs. Thomas Thomason and Daniel Corrie, who were sent as chaplains to the troops far up country, to Cawnpore, Benares, Agra and Meerut, and who were everywhere adepts at finding out the points at which missionary work ought afterwards to be commenced. The fifth and most brilliant of all was Henry Martyn, who was born on February 18th, 1781 and died on October 16th, 1812. The child of godly parents, he came whilst a student at Cambridge under the influence of the powerful University preacher, Charles Simeon, and obtained the appointment to one of the chaplaincies of the East India Company in 1804. He landed in Calcutta on April 22nd, 1806, and immediately entered into a friendship of the most intimate nature with the brethren who have already been mentioned, and whose ideas and dispositions corresponded with his own. In addition to his duties as chaplain to the garrison, which

[1] Even at so great a distance from England, Buchanan did a great deal to awaken the interest of those in the homeland for Indian missions. Again and again he instituted prize schemes, offering as much as £50 in order to encourage the cultured youth of England to write English, Latin, or Greek odes or scientific works on the subject of missions and of India. The first English writer of importance on missionary topics, Hugh Pearson, in this way received his first incentive to such work.

afterwards took him to Dinajpur and Cawnpore, he plunged with ardent zeal into the study of those languages which were most important for missionary work, Hindi and Hindustani, Persian and Arabic. He translated the entire New Testament and the Common Prayer Book into Hindustani. Then, in 1811, he proceeded to Persia, and after a ten months' residence in Shiraz, where he zealously disputed with Muhammadan scholars, he journeyed *via* Tabriz into Asia Minor. His health, however, which had ever been delicate and which was completely shattered through mental overstrain, proved unable to support the enormous exertion of a journey through the wild rocky highlands of Asia Minor, and he died in Tokat, at the early age of thirty-one. Notwithstanding his youth and the short time he laboured in India, scarcely any man except Carey exercised such a deep and abiding influence on the history of Indian missions during those first decades of the century as he. His ardent piety, his overpowering eloquence, his fine-spirited mysticism, and his brilliant genius left an ineffaceable impression on the memory of all his friends. This group of congenial and highly gifted men was full of great plans for the welfare of India. In the first place, they still hoped to win over the Company to their views. They divided Bengal into eight districts; an Anglican clergyman was to be officially appointed as special State missionary in each district, his duties being the preaching of the gospel, the establishment and oversight of schools, and all the other tasks of a zealous missionary. The necessary money was to be provided by the State. These proposals, however, met with only a poor welcome. The Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, declared he could see no hope of any good coming to the people of India by the adoption of such proposals; the Directors of the Company expressed themselves in the most vehement tones against them; and the consent of Parliament was withheld. But the chaplains were neither discouraged nor repressed by this. They opened up relations with Charles Simeon at Cambridge and with the recently established Church Missionary Society (1799), in order to try and prepare the way for extensive missionary activity in India through the instrumentality of the new Society. In the year 1807 they formed themselves into a "Corresponding Committee" for the Society, "in order to render assistance to the proposed station in the North-West Provinces." They appointed Thomason as their secretary.

If the agents of English Societies found the soil so hard, it is no wonder that the first missionaries of the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" (founded in 1810 and named for short the "American Board") met with well-nigh

insurmountable obstacles. In 1812 the Board sent five missionaries to India in quick succession on board two ships — Gordon Hall, Rice, Nott, Judson, and Newell. We have already heard about the wanderings and distresses of these pioneers. If at so short an interval after the War of Independence the sentiments of the English had not been specially favourable to Americans, they naturally became very much less so when a fresh war broke out in 1812. Nevertheless Gordon Hall and Nott were finally allowed to remain in Bombay in 1813, owing to the intervention of the friendly Governor, Sir Evan Nepean. Adoniram Judson and Rice became Baptists whilst at Calcutta, and the former fled from the officers of the Company to Rangoon; he arrived there on July 13th, 1813, and founded a new mission, to the support of which Rice summoned the Baptists of North America, thereby inaugurating the "American Baptist Missionary Union" in 1814.

Taken all in all, it was a day of small things. About 1812, there existed mission stations at Serampore (still in the hands of the Danes) whence Calcutta was worked; out-stations of the Baptists at Dinajpur, in the indigo district, where Carey had laboured before settling in Serampore; and at Jessore, in the well-watered delta-district of Eastern Bengal. The London Missionary Society was busy in Dutch Chinsurah and at Vizagapatam. In Madras and the Tamil country no new work had as yet sprung up alongside that of the veteran fathers of the Danish Mission. In the Kanarese country there was only the solitary station of Bellary, and that had been founded in 1812. In Bombay the first missionaries of a non-English Society, the American Board, had after great anxiety just managed to obtain a foothold. The only seed which appeared to be sprouting hopefully was the work of Ringeltaube in Southern Travancore.

(d) *The Fight for the Charter of* 1813

The Charter of the Company had to be renewed every twenty years. On the occasion of the proceedings in 1793, William Wilberforce and his friends had made the attempt to include in the Charter the following clause in favour of missions: "It is the opinion of this House that it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and to their religious and moral improvement." He moved, therefore, the following:

"Resolved, that the Court of Directors of the Company shall be empowered and commissioned to nominate and send out from time to time a sufficient number of skilled and suitable persons, who shall attain the aforesaid object by serving as schoolmasters, missionaries, or otherwise." Prudent and colourless as the wording of this resolution, the hotly attacked "pious clauses," now appears to have been, the attempt to smuggle them into the Charter failed before the violent agitation of the opposite and influential party, led by men like Dundas. Missions were excluded from British India for two more decades. In the year 1813 the Charter had again to be renewed, and the friends of missions determined to do all that lay in their power on this occasion to win liberty of movement for the messengers of the gospel in India.

In the meantime the Christian conscience of England had awakened. The nineteen years' fight for the abolition of slavery in the English colonies, and which had been brought to a successful issue in 1807, had powerfully contributed to the revival of essentially Christian views of life. Wilberforce placed himself at the head of the new campaign for the freedom of missions in India. It was a skilful move just at this time to publish and circulate widely the already-mentioned work of the widely respected Charles Grant, *Concerning the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain.* A former Governor-General of India, Lord Teignmouth, likewise lent his pen to the missionary cause. The recently founded Missionary Societies and their representatives, especially Fuller among the Baptists and C. Buchanan and Pratt amongst the Anglicans, assisted Wilberforce by all means in their power. No less than 850 petitions were laid on the table of the House of Commons on behalf of the missionaries.

Nor were their opponents idle, especially former Indian officials, the influential "Anglo-Indians."[1] The Sepoy rebellion in the Vellore district of South India in August 1806, which without the slightest justification was attributed to the missionaries, gave them an opportunity of violently declaiming against the mission of the "consecrated cobblers," which was "so dangerous to the State." The small and unimportant mutiny at Vellore had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the missionaries. Neither in Vellore nor in the neighbourhood did there exist one single mission station. Some alterations had been ordered in the soldiers' uniforms, especially in the arrangement of the turban. And the rebels had the firmly rooted idea that the Company desired to make them break caste and by guile or by force to make Christians of them.

[1] The Twinings, Prendergasts, Scott Warings, and men of that ilk.

This insignificant circumstance sufficed to extinguish the last spark of sympathy with missions on the part of those in authority. Every kind of jest and satire was employed to make missions and their supporters an object of ridicule or to make them appear the enemies of the people. It was indeed a hot "mission fray," as some one has called it. The opponents of the clauses made use of language which was provocative to a degree. Mr. Bensley, one of the Directors of the Company, summed up his position in the following words: "So far from approving the proposed clause or listening to it with patience, from the first moment I heard of it I considered it the most wild, extravagant, expensive, and unjustifiable project that ever was suggested by the most visionary speculator."[1] On June 23rd, 1813, however, the victory was won, and on July 21st the law received the royal assent.

Two resolutions contained the greater part of the admissions desired by the missionary party. The 12th Resolution ordered the creation of a bishop and three archdeacons, and thus instituted the régime of the Church of England in India, in order that English residents there might have thorough pastoral care. When we think, for instance, how faulty is the spiritual oversight of the officials and settlers in our German colonies even to this day, and that the means for enabling such oversight to be rendered have to be raised by private subscription, we must recognise what an important advance was made by this resolution.

The 13th Resolution, the one in which the whole missionary question was really involved, ran as follows: "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and moral improvement. That in furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, or remaining in, India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs." That meant that the missionaries were to be allowed to enter India and to reside there; they might preach, found churches, and discharge all spiritual duties; in a word, they might fulfil their missionary calling in its completest and widest sense. But this liberal opening up of the country at first affected none but British subjects, and during the next two decades (1813–1833) only the English and Scotch missionary societies really obtained, to any considerable extent, a firm footing in India.

[1] See Appendix M.

In passing we may mention that a second subject of keenest debate in the Charter conflicts of 1813 was the trade monopoly of the Company in India. It had gradually come to be an intolerable state of things that a limited and privileged society should have exclusive rights of commerce with the richest land in the world, and that all other Englishmen should not only be prevented from trading there, but be likewise prevented from setting foot on Indian soil. This was precisely the reason why in such little Danish settlements as Serampore, and in such Dutch settlements as Chinsurah and other places, a strong rivalry, backed up by English money, was created, by means of which these colonies sprang into fame. By the Charter of 1813 this trade monopoly was taken away from the East India Company.

The opponents of missions succeeded in inserting in the new Charter a clause providing that a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees (at that time about £10,000) was to be set aside annually for the purpose of improving and grafting new life into native Indian literature, of supporting native scholars and men of letters, and of introducing and maintaining Western knowledge amongst the inhabitants of the British possessions. By fostering both Oriental and Occidental science they hoped to create a reliable counterpoise, a protecting breakwater against the threatened deluge of missionary enterprise. They never dreamed that through this grant for purposes of higher education they were laying the foundation of the whole system of mission schools and the "grant-in-aid" system in India.

It ought not to be forgotten that the concessions to missions and to the Church were only wrung from the Company after the most violent opposition and the most furious conflict. The Company remained firmly determined, however, in spite of this defeat, to maintain its old policy of "neutrality"—which in reality was nothing but an almost boundless favouring of Hinduism and Islam. But it could no longer hinder missionaries from streaming into India in ever increasing numbers. It now concentrated its efforts upon the placing of as many hindrances as possible in the way of the unwelcome guests. For a considerable time to come native Christians were unable to reckon on any assistance from the Company; they were rather slighted, driven forth, and treated with aversion and contumely. Missions made their entry into India in spite of the Company.

(e) 1813–1833. *The Advent of the great English Missionary Societies*

For convenience' sake, the history of Indian missions should date from 1813. From that year only were Protestant missionary operations on a large scale possible, and, as a matter of fact, undertaken by various societies. The opening up of India through the Charter of 1813 only concerned at first, as we have already said, British subjects. To persons of any other nationality no permission was as yet given either with regard to trading, or freedom of circulation, or the carrying on of missionary work. Very many English people, however, heard in this uncommonly great and favourable opportunity for missionary labour a call to redoubled activity and fresh enterprise. Strangely enough, the Baptist Missionary Society, which had so heroically rendered the earliest pioneer services, was just that Society which did not take advantage of this mighty impulse to the full. It is true that the Serampore Trio gave great and magnificent proof of their wonder-working capabilities; in a series of rapid moves they extended their mission to the east, north, and west; they formed congregations and schools in Calcutta; they sent out itinerant preachers northwards and eastwards throughout the thickly populated low country of Bengal, and Gandulpura (two miles north of Serampore) was chosen as the centre from which these preachers radiated. Barisal in Eastern Bengal was occupied in 1829, Suri in the Birbhum district in 1818, Delhi in the far north-west in 1818, Benares the chief citadel of Hinduism in 1816, Agra in the United Provinces in 1811, Monghyr and Patna in Bihar in 1816, Chittagong (or Islamabad) on the Burmese frontier in 1812. By 1823 Carey was able to write home that he and his friends occupied 10 stations, with 25 English and Indian missionaries. This marvellous activity, however, was a private enterprise of the Men of Serampore, who paid all costs, save in so far as friends contributed, out of their own pockets.

The Baptist Missionary Society, from which, as we have already narrated, the Serampore Trio had unfortunately been compelled to withdraw, had in the meantime begun work in Calcutta on its own account. Because of its rivalry with these great men, however, this undertaking could never hope to win genuine success; in 1823 it only numbered 5 stations, with 12 European and Indian workers.

Besides the great Baptist Missionary Society, the General Baptist Missionary Society, which had been founded in 1816, took the field in 1822, and selected as its special district Orissa,

wisely limiting itself to, and concentrating its energies upon, this single province.

The London Missionary Society was busy at the beginning of this period with elementary schools at Chinsurah (which had in the meantime become a British possession). As early as the year 1815 it could point to 20 schools with 1651 scholars, of whom 258 were Brahmans, and in 1817 to as many as 36 schools with 3000 scholars. And the English Commissioner at Chinsurah, Gordon Forbes, was so delighted with this educational work that he procured a monthly subsidy of 600 rupees and, later, the large sum of 800 rupees for the missionaries—a precursor of the "grant-in-aid" system. The missionary gain from these schools was, however, only small. As Chinsurah was after all nothing but an out-of-the-way country township, the London Society transferred the headquarters of its work to Calcutta in 1816.

As far as the English Government had any interest whatever in the matter, it occupied itself solely with the spiritual needs of the Anglicans; the ecclesiastical oversight of English Dissenters in India still left very much to be desired. Whenever, therefore, there was to be found a congregation of Dissenters at a station, the London Missionary Society's agents felt themselves in duty bound to minister to it the Word and the sacraments according to the forms it was accustomed to use. Even though a far from inconsiderable part of the time and strength of some of their most capable men were thus often lost to labour purely missionary, yet they deemed it their duty to serve their fellow-countrymen in this way. Thus in Dharamtola Street, in the very centre of Calcutta, a stately building was erected for divine worship, called the Union Chapel, towards which friends in India alone contributed £4000—a beautiful testimony, after the former desolation, to the ever increasing willingness to render help to spiritual undertakings. As a centre for its Calcutta work the London Missionary Society chose Bhowanipur, one of the southern suburbs of the city. Thence, in 1826, they extended their work towards the south in the Sundarbans district (the overgrown delta district of the countless Ganges estuaries); they had already (1824) established a station north of Calcutta at Berhampore. On their other mission field, in the far south of India—a field which had come into the hands of the Society through the labours of Ringeltaube—tremendous progress continued to be made even after the unexplained disappearance of that remarkable man. In place of the more remote Myladi, Nagercoil and Neyoor were chosen as bases of the work; prior to 1840 a membership of 15,000 was registered; in the schools there were 7540 scholars, nearly 1000 of whom

were girls—a most extraordinary thing for the India of that day. Two printing establishments, a theological college, boarding schools, and other institutions, served in the uplifting of these communities. Curiously enough, however, the London Missionary Society concentrated its strength neither on its Bengal work nor yet on that in Travancore. In the majestic greatness and extent of the British possessions in India there lay a challenge, which however might easily have become a temptation, to seize instantly on as many points of vantage as possible. In every direction there were places of "strategic importance," and the example of Paul the Apostle, who rapidly seized one after another the trade centres of the Eastern Roman Empire, leaving to later evangelists the task of penetrating into the interior of the different countries, appeared to justify a similar method of procedure on a large scale. The London Missionary Society established, therefore, the following stations: in the Tamil country, Madras (1813), Kumbakonam and Chittoor (1825), Salem (1827), and Coimbatore (1830); in the Telugu country (besides Vizagapatam which had been held since 1805), Cuddapah (1822); in the Kanarese country, Bellary (1812), Bangalore and Belgaum (1820); in Gujarat, Surat (1819); and in the North-Western Provinces, Benares (1820). This almost simultaneous occupation of important positions, situated at such a distance from one another and each having its own special circumstances and environment, brought the London Missionary Society into contact with seven of the principal tongues and nationalities of India. Save for Travancore in the south, only one of these stations, Cuddapah, has since become an important centre; the rest have all declined in one direction or another. Some, like Kumbakonam (1852), and Surat (1847), have been handed over to other societies; concerning others, negotiations with a view to surrender have at any rate been mooted, but nothing further has come of them.

Alongside these two great societies there now appeared as a third new and important factor the Church of England, together with the societies which owed to her their birth and which derived from her their support. One of the most noteworthy things gained by the Charter of 1813 was that the episcopal system of the Church of England was transferred to India. A bishop and three archdeacons were for the time being deemed adequate ecclesiastical equipment for the vast colonial empire of India, including Ceylon, Australia, and South Africa! These were intended, however, primarily to be of advantage not to Hindus and Muhammadans, but to the English officials, soldiers, and traders. How the arrangement gradually came to be of definite importance for

foreign missionary work, and through what struggles and difficulties it has passed on that account, will best be related in another chapter. Here we will only relate one of them. The first bishop appointed, Bishop Middleton (1814–1822), who was otherwise no great friend of missions, conceived the excellent design of founding a Missionary College in Calcutta, which should serve various purposes at one and the same time. It was to train young Indian Christians as preachers, catechists, and school teachers; it was to impart a knowledge of the English language to Muhammadans and Hindus; it was to be a kind of headquarters for the translation into Indian tongues of the Bible, the Common Prayer Book, and other more or less important works; and it was to serve as a home and quiet place of residence for young missionaries on their first arrival in India. £60,000 was collected in England for the scheme. The Church Missionary Society gave £5000 out of its then very meagre income, and a like sum was contributed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the British and Foreign Bible Society. The superintendence of this many-sided institution was in 1820 entrusted to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a Society of High Church principles which had been in existence for over a century, and which was now introduced for the first time to direct missionary work in India. It was to this College that in 1821 it dispatched its first agents, two University trained teachers.

We have already described the singular ill-fortune which had attended the few representatives of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the mission field; in the year 1825 it withdrew altogether from distinctly missionary work in India, and transferred all the stations and districts for which it was financially responsible to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which thus with one bound sprung into the very front rank of the societies labouring in India. It was a long time, however, before it was able fully to occupy this unsought-for inheritance; only from 1835 onwards could it cope with the demand for missionaries to any sufficient extent. Its first independent work, like that of almost every society then labouring in Calcutta, was begun in the so-called Twenty-four Parganas and Sundarbans, thickly populated districts lying to the south of Calcutta; here it quickly founded a series of stations and outposts. These were all supplied, though for the time being only, with European missionaries.

With greater zeal, with larger means, and, for the most part, with more distinguished men, the Church Missionary Society (founded in 1799) stepped into the field immediately after the

revision of the Charter. Although at first sight it appears to have fallen into the same mistake as the London Missionary Society, and to have taken over too many places at once, thereby dissipating its energies, there was this important difference between the two—that the Church Missionary Society entered a well-prepared field, and set itself to accomplish clearly defined tasks. Everywhere it associated itself with the work of the Protestant chaplains, and with their help formed "Corresponding Committees" in the three Indian capitals, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, in whose hands it placed the direction of its affairs—a most laudable plan when the shortest period of time in which a letter could be answered was ten months, and when there was a sufficient number of intelligent and devoted clergy and laymen in all three cities willing to dedicate themselves to the very responsible duty of directing the affairs of the Society. Only a quarter of a century later was the headquarters of the Society transferred to the homeland, and the Committees in India dissolved, though not without serious friction. Founded in the year 1812, the "Corresponding Committee" at Calcutta quickly commenced operations in that city and the region round about; in Kidderpur its first school was erected on a plot of ground presented by a friendly Brahman (1815), and in Dum Dum a second one was built shortly afterwards. When the two first actual representatives of the Society, an Englishman named Greenwood and a German named Schröter, were sent out in 1816, the first mission station proper was opened at Garden Reach, one mile south of Calcutta. Then in 1821 the centre of the work was established in the very heart of the city, in the Mirzapur quarter, and there ample premises and several schools were rapidly constructed. In 1816 a devout soldier, Lieutenant Stewart, established a station at Burdwan, to the north-west of Calcutta, which during the years 1831–1852 became widely known through its missionary, Rev. J. J. Weitbrecht. Work in the United Provinces was commenced rather earlier: the first representative of the Society there was Abdul Masih, Henry Martyn's only convert, who was appointed to Agra in 1813 to labour under the direction of Chaplain Corrie; he was ordained by Bishop Heber[1] in 1826, and was the first Indian clergyman to receive Anglican orders. After Agra, the great military dépôt Meerut (1815), Benares (1817), Chunar near Benares (1815), Gorakhpur (1823), Azamgarh and Jaunpur (1831) were occupied in quick succession, so that that district soon became a great centre of Anglican

[1] After he had previously been ordained by the Lutherans—a regrettable want of consideration towards the sister Church of Germany on the part of such a lover of peace as Heber.

missionary work. A large legacy came very opportunely from the famous Rajah Jay Narain Ghosal of Benares in 1818, by means of which an extensive and splendidly endowed school was acquired by the Church Missionary Society. The Jay Narain College, although only a high school, has ever since been one of the most influential schools of Benares.

A "Corresponding Committee" had likewise been formed at Bombay in 1818, in consequence of which the Church Missionary Society began work there in 1820. As Western India proved to be a specially hard field, it was not until 1832 that a second post, Nasik, was founded. It was South India which at this time principally engaged the attention of the supporters of the Society. Through Chaplain Hough, a missionary enthusiast, the indefatigable Rhenius was attracted to Tinnevelly in 1820, and there he developed during a decade and a half such an extensive work amongst the Shanan caste, whose hearts were ever disposed to receive the gospel, that by 1835 there were no less than 11,186 baptized believers scattered amongst 261 villages, and in 107 schools 2882 scholars were being instructed. If to these we add some 4000 Christians, who in this same district adhered to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the 11,000 whom Ringeltaube of the London Missionary Society had gathered together in the immediately adjoining and similar districts of South Travancore, we have as early as 1835 in the extreme south of India some 26,000 without reckoning the 15,000 left by the Danish Mission in the Cauvery district. These two great groups of Christians were at that time the crown and the rejoicing of Protestant missions.

Through Claudius Buchanan's work, *Christian Researches*, of which mention has already been made, the interest of English Christians had been warmly kindled on behalf of the ancient Syrian Church. The Church Missionary Society profited by this wave of enthusiasm, and for twenty years (1816–1836) it attempted, with most competent missionaries and in a most praiseworthy and broad-minded fashion, to instil new life into this ancient Christian Church, both morally and spiritually. Unfortunately, in consequence of the adverse attitude of the bishop and his party, all of whom were enemies of reform, this effort had to be abandoned in 1836. Yet the general work of the Society was by no means allowed to stand still, and a more extensive work than ever was started amongst the heathen of a district the Society had already once occupied, that of Travancore. Madras, the eastern gate of South India, had already been occupied by the Society, in 1814; it was their first station manned entirely by European missionaries. Their

work in this region acquired an influence and an importance far beyond what such a comparatively small cause could otherwise have exerted, owing to the distinguished missionary John Tucker (1833–1847), who was at the same time local Director of all the Society's work in South India. During one period the Church Missionary Society had missionaries in Tranquebar also, whose duties were to assist the Danish brethren. Of these, the best known is Schnorre; Rhenius was also there for a time. No lasting connection, however, was formed.

Neither at this time nor for many years afterwards did England send out nearly enough missionaries to man the rapidly extending English missions. Germany, on the other hand, had two Missionary Colleges, at Berlin and at Basle; and, whilst that of Jänicke at Berlin did not send any missionaries to India, the Basle College trained more candidates than they could employ on their own mission field. Most of these young men entered the service of English societies, and preferably that of the Church Missionary Society. During the eighteenth century, when both the Danish Society and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had been almost exclusively carried on by German Lutheran missionaries, it had been considered a matter of course that such missionaries should be ordained after the Lutheran fashion, and should be guided by Lutheran principles both in their missionary practice and their church government. They could confirm and even ordain those whom they deemed suitable, and were almost independent in their work, even at stations which the High Church Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge regarded as its own domain. During this period no scruple was felt as to the appointment of Lutherans to Anglican mission stations. But from the advent of the nineteenth century Anglican churchmanship was perceptibly strengthened. Friction first came about in 1818. It was demanded of Lutheran clergy in the service of the Church Missionary Society that they should place themselves entirely under the "Corresponding Committees" in India, into whose hands the Home Committee had confided the entire direction of their Indian missions. This was absolutely contrary to the traditions of the eighteenth century, when the Lutherans had received all their instructions from Germany. By this regulation they were drawn into a far more strict dependence upon the English Church; but they complied. The next step of the Church Missionary Society was to insist that at all their stations the Anglican form of service, *i.e.* the Common Prayer Book, should be the standard of authority; no candidate was to be accepted for missionary work who did not bind himself to observe this condition. That was a difficult demand for German

Lutherans; but they again complied. Then came the further requirement that all Lutherans wishing to be accepted for service under the Church Missionary Society should take Anglican orders, or, if they had already taken Lutheran orders, that they should be reordained. That the Anglicans attached much weight to this condition is shown by the reordination of several missionaries at the Danish stations, and by that of Abdul Masih. And then came the additional order that the Lutheran missionaries should in their general practice renounce the rights which they actually possessed, rights to confirm and to ordain, in favour of the prior rights of the bishops. It is perfectly obvious that for men who were in any sense bound by the traditions of the German Reformation it would be a much more difficult matter to comply with this Anglican demand. A secession like that of Rhenius was only to be expected; and it opened the eyes of many on both sides of the Channel to the fact that the co-operation of Lutheran missionaries in Anglican missions had become, through this development of the Anglican spirit, impracticable, and that a point had been arrived at where such a union was harmful to conscience. Only the fact that the Basle youths had imbibed uncommonly little of the real spirit of their Church will account for the union having been maintained so long. And yet it was inevitable that as time went on this bond, which for more than a century had united England and Germany, should be loosened. The genuine sympathy with which friends in Germany regarded the Church Missionary Society could not alter the fact that this Society too is a "Church" mission, with the clear, decided stamp of Anglicanism upon it, or, as Henry Venn expresses it in his famous *Remarks on the Constitution and Practice of the Church Missionary Society, with Reference to its Ecclesiastical Relations*, "that the constitution and practice of the Church Missionary Society are in strict conformity with ecclesiastical principles as they are recognised in the constitution and practice of the Church of England."

The Wesleyans also made immediate use of the opening up of India through the new Charter, although for nearly half a century they limited their labours almost entirely to South India and Ceylon. They began their work in the Tamil country in 1818 at Trichinopoly, and from 1821 onwards extended it to Negapatam, Manargudi, Melnattam, and to the highly situated and healthy city of Bangalore. In this town they commenced their Kanarese Mission in 1835, in connection with which stations were opened at Gubbi in the Mysore (1838), at the old capital, likewise called Mysore (1838), at Tumkur, and other places. In this part of India, therefore, and especially

in the Mysore, they thus won for themselves a leading position.

As well as the English, there was no lack of Scotch missionaries in India. In the year 1822 the first representatives of the Scotch Missionary Society (which was taken over by the Established Church of Scotland in 1835) landed in Western India, and for long years sought to obtain a foothold at Poona, at different places in the interior and along the Konkan coast, without, however, encountering any tokens of success. The work of the Scotch missionaries received its first great impetus when John Wilson (1829), Alexander Duff (1830), and John Anderson (1837), three of the very greatest of Indian missionaries, commenced at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras respectively those missionary labours the conception of which was as magnificent as their influence was far-reaching.

The change of creed on the part of the first evangelists sent by the American Board, Judson and Rice, had led in 1814 to the formation of the American Baptist Missionary Union, whose first station was that at Rangoon, previously founded by Judson in 1813. After this mission had for more than ten years carried on a difficult and unsuccessful attempt to convert the very unapproachable Buddhists of Burma, a most promising door was opened to it amongst the Karen Tribes in the primeval forests of the, as yet, unexplored interior. New stations were established at Moulmein (1827) and Tavoy (1828). The progress of Baptist missions in Burma dates from the inception of the Karen Mission.

The older American Mission, the American Board, enjoyed an uneventful and unobtrusive existence in Bombay, principally occupied with literary and educational work. As Americans the few missionaries felt themselves hampered in all directions. Only in the north of Ceylon, in the Jaffna district, did their work meet with any success, and even there it was carried on amongst an unreceptive and caste-proud people.

(f) *Last Years of the Danish Mission.* 1800–1840

Once more we must return to the Danish Mission. We designedly place the hour of its decline at the very time when English missions began to bestir themselves; it is this very contrast which illuminates the sorrowfulness of the event. At the same time, this period during which the Tamil Mission flourished belongs most intimately to the history of the general development of missionary work. After Christian Friedrich Schwartz's death, dark days set in: the saintly Jänicke had died in 1790; the excellent and zealous Gericke followed him to the

grave in 1803. Whilst the experienced men of an older generation passed away, there arose none like them to fill the vacant places, and the few who remained were in nowise able to attain to the stature of the giants who had preceded them.

The peculiar strength of the mission during the eighteenth century had lain in the first place in the remarkable alliance subsisting between Copenhagen, Halle, and London. In spite of all its ill-fortune and of many false steps, the Missionary Board at Copenhagen had become the ruling partner in its affairs, and friends at Halle had for the most part sent the sums they had collected *via* Copenhagen. Copenhagen had become the "Head" of the mission. But the interest which had formerly been taken in the mission, especially by the Danish Royal Family and the exalted society nearest the throne, had long since grown cold; the ardent hopes which had been fixed on an extended trade with India had not been realised; Tranquebar was more a burden than a source of revenue. The mission suffered from this lack of interest. In fact, there never had been much appreciation of or enthusiasm for the further development of missionary work in the English and Dutch possessions and in the Native States. At the turn of the eighteenth century the colony, which had hitherto been administered by the Danish East India Company, became the exclusive property of the crown of Denmark. This too was a change wholly detrimental to the mission. The missionaries lost the privilege of being the immediate protégés of the king; the few juridical functions they had hitherto exercised were taken from them. The newly appointed Government officials had no appreciation for the religious objects of the mission; the missionaries seemed superfluous in their eyes, and they annoyed them in every possible way. And can it very much be wondered at when, as early as 1776, a man like Hee Wadum was made Secretary to the Danish Missionary Board—a man who was graceless enough to write to one of the missionaries (John of Tranquebar): "Catholics and Jews who join our Church undoubtedly take this step simply to gain some temporal advantage, and I always think that the man, whoever he may be, who is once untrue to his religion, can never, and should never be trusted again, as I believe that such a man, given favourable opportunities, would be ready barefacedly to bring about changes in religion as often as he liked, and to perpetrate the most insolent acts of knavery." With such opinions being held by members of the governing body in Denmark, it is no wonder that the Government passed a resolution in 1824 that "the mission shall no longer aim at conversions, but that it

shall establish schools in which such knowledge as is profitable to everybody shall be taught, in order that the right way may be prepared for the true dissemination of Christianity"! A royal decree was accordingly published on May 18th, 1825, which ordered that "the pastorate at the Danish Zion Church shall be incorporated with the office of first missionary. The religious officials, who have hitherto borne the title of 'missionary' in Tranquebar, shall only attempt to convert the heathen to Christianity in places where they have good hopes of success, and where the moral tone of the natives shall demand it, but no public funds shall be employed for any such purposes."

Halle, on the other hand, had been the "heart" of the mission. Here a true enthusiasm for their glorious calling and a knowledge of its wondrous possibilities had first dawned upon the missionaries; it was from here they had gone forth; they regarded the Francke Institute as their spiritual home. The sage spiritual and missionary counsel of the two Franckes, father and son, had enlightened them amid doubts and perplexities, sustained them in distresses, and at all times comforted and strengthened them. But with rationalism a new spirit had come over Halle: the faith which works by love was dead, and a cold and superficial intellectuality had no power to captivate the hearts of men —least of all, in the interests of the difficult and self-sacrificing missionary service. This shallow rationalism, too, soon made a way for itself into the very ranks of the missionaries. Rev. G. H. Hüttemann, who had gone out with Schwartz in 1750 and had worked well during the first fifteen or twenty years, now came to the conclusion that the Tranquebar Mission was nothing but a great almshouse, and that the Tamils were a nation of incorrigible beggars and liars. Rev. C. S. John, who had also formerly been a pious Lutheran pastor, came to think it no longer advisable to print passages like John iii. 16 in reading books destined for the use of native children in the schools! For seventy years Ziegenbalg's old-fashioned Catechism had been in use at Tranquebar, but now a new one was to be introduced, based solely upon nature. Instead of printing the entire Bible as hitherto, only extracts from it were to be given, in order that the press might be left free for the publication of other more generally useful matter! Dr. Rottler's collection of plants and John's collection of shells were renowned amongst the scholars of Europe, and eight different learned societies conferred their honorary membership upon both scientists. But of course missionary work suffered severely by these hobbies, the country districts were left to native preachers and catechists, the churches were forsaken, the sacraments despised.

As for London, there had never been more than a few small

circles which had supported the mission in India; the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the organ and channel by which English help had been forwarded, had no real heart for the work which had unexpectedly been forced upon it. It felt its true vocation to be the circulation of Christian literature, the care of schools, the establishment of printing presses, etc. It was an important and, in reality, a right decision when in 1826 it resolved to hand over its entire South India Mission to the sister organisation, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which at all events desired to become a real foreign missionary society. This very transference was, however, destined to be the cause of far-reaching complications. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has been from the very commencement the Society of the extreme High Church party. With the increasing influence of High Anglicanism, dating from the beginning of the century, and its growing consciousness of power in English colonial and missionary life, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel became the standard-bearer and the disseminator of hierarchic romanising tendencies; and a new spirit was infused into the Tamil Mission, a wind from the opposite quarter, which became all the more perceptible in proportion as the gentle and refreshing spiritual breezes of pietism from Halle died away.

The second element of peculiar strength in the old mission had lain in its independence. Although in Tranquebar itself the missionaries were under the often mean and paltry direction of the Danish Board, which also owned the whole of the missionary property there, yet the rest of the missionaries and stations were almost entirely independent. The only tie which bound them to Europe was the meagre stipend sent out from London and the more or less considerable supplements to it forwarded from Halle. Scarcely anybody took any interest in what they did; they rendered an account of their stewardship to no one; the stations, churches, and dwelling-houses had been built out of their own private means, and they regarded them as their personal property, just as all landed property was legally vested in their names as private persons. If they met in conference and passed rules for their common guidance, it was entirely their own affair. This independence had few perils so long as it was exercised by great and truly disinterested characters, who were moreover all animated by a common spirit of Lutheran pietism. It became a fountain of much petty strife and particularism when men of inferior powers came upon the scene, and a new school of thought made itself felt.

It was providential that in this transition period several missionaries of very old standing were there to carry on the traditions of an earlier epoch. At Madras there laboured

Pätzold,[1] a man of incomprehensible and unreliable character (1803–1817), and Rottler, pliant and weak (1803–1836); at Tanjore Christian Friedrich Schwartz's adopted son, Kaspar Kohlhoff (1787–1844), who was first his foster-father's greatly beloved helper, and then his successor for fifty years; at Trichinopoly was the ever faithful Pohle (1778–1818); and at Tranquebar Dr. A. F. Kämmerer (1790–1837), a shallow Rationalist, who was at the time of his death the last of the old Hallensian missionaries. The developments which came about during the lifetime of these men were not the same in Danish Tranquebar as in the English stations. At Tranquebar several of the English missionary societies, such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society, made efforts either to assist the tottering mission or to locate themselves alongside it. But so completely had the missionary spirit perished from the hearts of the Danish Mission Board that it could not bring itself to allow the English to share its missionary work. The farthest it would go was in 1820 to cede to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for reasons of economy, all the village causes dependent on Tranquebar, comprising the districts of eleven catechists with 1300 members and eleven chapels. The Tranquebar Mission was thereby greatly reduced. The two missionaries stationed there, Kämmerer and Schreyvogel, in 1816 entered into a compact with the newly appointed Anglican Bishop of Calcutta, Bishop Middleton, to hand over their entire mission to him and to the Church he represented. But the Mission Board forbade the carrying out of this arrangement. Tranquebar weathered the winter with difficulty as a station of the Danish Mission.

On the other stations the anglicising and anglicanising process went on slowly but surely. When Pätzold died at Madras in 1817, the only two surviving Hallensian missionaries, who according to tradition, though scarcely according to the strict letter of the law, could claim both the landed and the real property of the Madras station, made over all this property to the Madras District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and this last-named body placed the aged Dr. Rottler in charge, as their own missionary. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge thus gained an actual right of possession over one of the oldest and most important missionary stations. And this right passed without challenge in 1826 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Considering the distinctly High Church principles of the new owners, it was only natural that they should endeavour

[1] As already mentioned in the note to p. 136, Pätzold was for a time Professor of Tamil at Fort William College, Calcutta.

to promulgate their own particular views. Dr. Rottler translated the Book of Common Prayer into Tamil, and introduced it to his congregation. Confirmation, ordination, and the consecration of churches became the exclusive privileges of the bishop. At Trichinopoly and Tanjore the Lutheran liturgy, catechism, and hymn-book were retained in use until 1826 and 1844 respectively; but neither Pohle at the former, nor K. Kohlhoff at the latter, had either the inclination or the ability to make a definite stand on behalf of the old Lutheran forms of service and church polity as against the new Anglican spirit. After their death the old customs and rites naturally fell into abeyance, and the more so because here again the deceased missionaries had left all their property to the English Society unconditionally. Whether the native churches had more appreciation and love for Lutheranism than their missionaries possessed is a matter on which we may reasonably entertain some degree of doubt. Certain it is that the tenaciously conservative Tamils clung to the excellent Bible of Fabricius, to the sweet hymns he had translated, to the order of the Lutheran service, and to all sorts of old customs and usages, good and bad. But the transition from the older period to the new Anglican one had come about so gradually, and had been so prudently carried through by the Anglicans as far as ecclesiastical affairs were concerned, that the churches would probably have become entirely reconciled to it, had not the question of caste become a matter of burning strife. By 1840 almost all the old Hallensian mission stations were occupied by English missionaries in Anglican orders.

The old Danish missionaries had treated the question of caste very indulgently. With few exceptions, such as Benjamin Schultze at Tranquebar (1719–1725) and Pohle at Trichinopoly, they had hesitated to grapple seriously with this deeply rooted national institution, which is most intimately bound up with all the manners and customs of the Tamil race. Relying on the aid of the Word of God, on public and private exhortation, and on their own spiritual influence, they had contented themselves with an effort to destroy the evil from within. Some of them, and especially Chr. Fr. Schwartz, had met with such signal success as to be able to write, as Schwartz did in a letter dated January 1791: "As far as the high and low castes (the Sudras and the Pariahs) are concerned, God hath graciously helped us so that now scarcely any distinction is perceptible either in the Church or at the Holy Communion. This has been done by frequent loving and earnest exhortation, and we have carefully avoided any kind of compulsion." And his successor in Trichinopoly, K. Kohlhoff, was able in 1828 to testify that "caste distinctions have until recently scarcely ever been the cause of dissension

among the converts, and gradually they have lost a great part of their significance" (Handmann, *Evang.-luth. Tamulen Mission*, p. 307). But in the churches the Sudras and the Pariahs sat apart, the last-named followed the Sudras, and even the Sudra women, to the Lord's Table, and the ordination of an otherwise competent and worthy catechist, Rajanaiken by name, was refused solely because of his being a Pariah, as "it is not to be expected that a Sudra will receive the Sacrament at his hands," and "the Pariahs might thereby easily be led to regard the Sacrament with contempt" (Graul, *Stellung der Evang.-luth. Mission*, etc., p. 41). As a matter of fact they had taken up the difficult caste question all the less thoroughly because, according to Schwartz's communication, two-thirds of the congregations consisted of Sudras, and because the pastoral work they had already accomplished was a remarkable advance upon the lax practices of the Roman Catholics. But it must be remembered that this success was only attained along the lines of the most zealous and conscientious care for souls. It disappeared the moment that this latter was lost sight of by a feebler and Epigonian generation. Then a state of things set in which was insupportable. Bishop Daniel Wilson, a stern opponent of caste we must admit, narrates the following of which he had himself been an eye-witness: "They retained the marks of heathendom upon their forehead (probably he meant the Podtu, or beauty spot, which certainly resembles the heathen signs on the forehead very closely; cf. Handmann, p. 198); heathen processions and ceremonies were observed at marriages and funerals; the degradation of the mass of the congregations was as debasing as before their Christian confession,—exclusion from the same division of the Church,—approach to the Table of the Lord forbidden in common, —reception for religious teaching into the houses of those of superior caste denied,—the sponsors, except of equal caste, declined,—separate spots and divisions in the burial-ground imposed,—in short, the impassable barrier of Brahmanical caste erected again, which condemns the one class of mankind to perpetual debasement, and elevates the other to disproportionate pride,—and by which all the intercommunity of the body of Christ is violated and destroyed" (Westcott, *Our Oldest Indian Mission*, p. 54). In Sandirapadi, an offshoot from Tranquebar, the Christian Sudras would under no conditions allow the Christian Pariahs who resided just outside the village to enter their old stone chapel (Handmann, p. 312). In Madras communion was administered on separate days for Sudras and Pariahs (Westcott, p. 36),[1] and so forth.

[1] A double communion cup, separated for Sudras and Pariahs, was in use, though only for a time, at Tranquebar, but it was soon laid aside. That this slanderous

In view of these caste complications in the native churches—complications which continued to increase enormously—it was momentous that decided opposition to caste made its way everywhere in India during this new missionary period, which lasted for half a century (1792–1840), and in which English influence predominated. We do not hear that those missionaries who led the way for all the rest, such as Carey, Marshman, Duff, Wilson, Lacroix, and others, ever felt any serious scruples on the question of caste. They were absolutely convinced that caste was an institution wholly incompatible with the Church of Christ, and that at any price it must be cast out of the Lord's Vineyard, root and branch. It could not be otherwise than that this new spirit, this new and radical fashion of regarding the caste evil, should also gain adherents among missionaries in the Tamil country, and that here, where the sense of caste was most deeply rooted in the minds of the people, and where for a century the Christian Church had treated caste with a vast amount of patience, violent conflicts should arise. That the carrying out of the new English caste policy should coincide with the anglicanisation of the flocks of the old Danish missionaries was a fact full of moment.

Rev. C. T. Rhenius, a German missionary who had landed in South India as early as 1814 and who was one of the first Church Missionary Society's missionaries, was a strong opponent of caste. He began his work in the Black Town (*i.e.* native quarter) of Madras in definite antagonism to it. Rev. L. P. Haubroe, a Danish missionary who had been Rottler's assistant under the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, was influenced by Rhenius, and became the first man to attempt to do away with the old caste customs among the particularly sensitive Madras converts. His demands were modest enough. He began by making promotions amongst the children at the Christian parish school regardless of their caste—a practice which now obtains almost everywhere in India as a matter of course. Even this much resulted in a number of parents temporarily withdrawing their children from the school; but he carried his point. Encouraged by this first success, he then went a very little farther, and made the Pariah children sit in the front rows at church amongst the Sudra children. This minute change was sufficient to bring about a far-reaching upheaval in the church at Madras. When Bishop Heber visited Madras in 1826, the injured congregation appealed to him to protect their caste customs; and the warm-hearted but enthusiastic Bishop,

accusation should even nowadays be flung at the old Danish missionaries, and still more that it should be malevolently cast in the teeth of the Leipzig missionaries, is greatly to be deplored (cf. Handmann, p. 291, note).

who, under the influence of a Tamil catechist, David, recently ordained by him, only regarded caste as a social institution of the Hindus, removed Haubroe to Tanjore. In consequence of this incident, Bishop Heber took a plebiscite of all South Indian missionaries upon the caste question; as most of these were still guided by the traditions of the Danish Mission, the result was a large majority in favour of non-interference. The sudden and unexpected death of Heber at Trichinopoly on April 3rd, 1827, caused the matter to be for a time forgotten.

In the year 1833 it was again revived by Bishop Wilson on the occasion of his visitation in South India. We may reasonably doubt whether it were prudent on his part to do this; for he judged the caste question purely from a North Indian standpoint, and he was only familiar with northern conditions; and further, he was just on the point of relinquishing South India to the newly created see of Madras (1833). On the other hand, as Metropolitan, he was the only individual in a position to give due effect to the opinions on caste which were now universally held in English missionary circles. Bishop Wilson took up a precisely opposite view to that of his predecessor Heber; he saw in caste the very stronghold of heathenism, an institution which had degenerated along with Hinduism and which was pre-eminently of a religious nature. In a pastoral letter of July 5th, 1833, he declared: "The distinction of caste must be abandoned, decidedly, immediately, and finally." Caste differences were no longer to be observed in approaching the Lord's Table, the appointment of catechists, the choice of godparents, the permission to attend church meetings, the positions of graves in the cemeteries, and so forth. And whilst he desired that the missionaries should deal prudently with separate cases, it was yet his unalterable will that the new caste policy should be adopted, even in the congregations of the old Danish Mission. He felt himself all the more bound to such a course of action because the Danish congregations had in the meantime come under the protection of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the episcopal missionary society, and thereby he as Metropolitan had become their paramount and responsible leader in all missionary affairs.

The publication of this energetic pastoral led to exciting proceedings in the South Indian churches. In Vepery Church, Madras, the whole of the Sudra Christians, as one man, left the building after the letter had been read and renounced their membership—a schism that was only healed after the exercise of much patience and tact. In Tanjore a wild uproar arose in the church immediately after the reading. Wilson relied in this case on personal dealing: he reasoned long and impress-

ively with the congregation. He also arranged for a celebration of the Holy Communion at Trichinopoly in which, according to a previously concerted plan, Sudras, Pariahs, and Englishmen were to approach the Communion Table indiscriminately. But it was all in vain. The majority of the native preachers and catechists preferred rather to be dismissed than to comply with the Bishop's orders. A mighty wave of discord swept over the old pampered congregations. They now perceived, and that from a side on which they were most sensitive, that a new spirit had taken possession of the leaders of the missionary enterprise.

More than a decade passed by before the English missionary authorities took further steps towards abolishing the caste evil. Decided action was brought about in 1847 by the frank and resolute testimonies of Anderson's converts at Madras, who were all educated young men of the highest caste. The missionaries now came to the conclusion that, once and for all, cost what it might, the opposition between Sudras and Pariahs within the Church must be put an end to. To this end they determined to launch out in a radically new direction: the Christians were to prove at common "love-feasts" that they had become one body in Christ Jesus. Especially for native workers of every kind, and in particular for pastors and catechists, was this frequently renewed comradeship around one common board made an indispensable condition of their being employed by the mission. The American Congregationalists (the American Board) at Madura took the lead. In 1847 they promoted several so-called "test meals." The consequence was a grave crisis for this Society: seventy-two persons, thirty-eight of whom were catechists (!) were suspended. In the Pasumalai Seminary, near Madras, practically the whole of the teachers and scholars were sent home. In many cases people from the very lowest classes replaced the teachers who had left; and this did not contribute by any means to the uplifting of the native churches.

In spite of these lamentable experiences, the Madras Missionary Conference of 1848 went yet a step farther, and determined that from that time onwards no one should be baptized who did not break caste and partake of food prepared by a Pariah. In February 1850 this Conference issued a strong manifesto against caste, the "Minute of the Madras Missionary Conference," which clearly defined its own position, and which was principally aimed at the methods of the missionaries of the Leipzig Society, who favoured less radical proceedings. The Foreign Secretary of the American Board, Rufus Anderson, when on a missionary tour in 1854 through the northern parts of Ceylon, where the caste spirit is especially strong, induced

ninety of the most respected members of the native churches in connection with the American Board to draw up a declaration by which they pledged themselves, "as far as they themselves were concerned, to give up all caste distinctions and social usages, and also to discountenance such ideas in other people, as they only serve to nourish pride, to bias affection, and to restrain the dictates of Christian kindliness and love." Since that time the caste question has never been omitted from the proceedings of the South India Missionary Conferences, and no modification has ever been made in the fundamental principle of absolute breaking of caste by members of the Christian community and its extermination by all lawful means. This is expressed with particular precision in a resolution of the Bangalore Missionary Conference (June 1879): "The Conference does not hold caste to be in its theory and practice a mere civil class distinction but rather, and to an overwhelming extent, a purely religious institution. Looked at in this light, it is diametrically opposed to the Christian doctrine of the unity of mankind and of the brotherhood of all true Christians. It is therefore the duty of all missionaries and societies to demand an absolute renunciation of caste and all its outward manifestations from those who desire to be received into the Church of Christ." As the years have gone by, more attention has been given to phraseology. In leaving this part of our subject for the present, we may cite as an expression of modern feeling on the subject the vote of the South India Missionary Conference of 1900, which was also ratified by the General Missionary Conference of 1902 (we give the later form): "The Conference would earnestly emphasise the deliverance of the South India Missionary Conference of 1900, viz., that caste, wherever it exists in the Church, be treated as a great evil to be discouraged and repressed. It is further of opinion that in no case should any person who breaks the law of Christ by observing caste hold any office in connection with the Church, and it earnestly appeals to all Indian Christians to use all lawful means to eradicate so unchristian a system."

What have been the practical results of this decisive and consistent policy? In the first place, it has here and there led without doubt to arbitrary proceedings and hard dealing, to hypocrisy and dishonesty; for Christians of long standing and of higher castes conformed only outwardly to the clearly expressed will of those placed in authority—it would have needed more character than the average Hindu possesses to withstand this temptation. And the lower caste Christians of Pariah descent commended themselves to their superiors by punctiliously oberving the external signs of a complete break with caste in

order to place themselves in as favourable a light as possible, to ensure their own advancement and obtain a higher salary, or any other advantages. But the results of the policy were both broader and deeper than this. Within the Christian community the Sudra and Pariah castes, hitherto separated by a yawning gulf, were drawn nearer together; there ensued a certain inter-blending of the two—though certainly this is far from being, even yet, an accomplished fact; inter-marriages even took place, and in consequence of these mixed families of Sudras and Pariahs are not uncommon. It is not true to say that the general result has been to thereby lower the Sudras to the level of the Pariahs; on the contrary, it is perhaps the Pariah Christians who have the more frequently and to a greater degree been uplifted and developed in culture, cleanliness, good manners, and moral character. But we cannot deny that in spite of all its successes up to the present time this inter-blending will for a long time have to be a subject of the most delicate and constant consideration if its eventual result is not to be the proletariatising of missionary work. It is important to notice that through this treatment of the caste question the evangelical churches have, for the present and for a considerable time to come, lost their attraction for natives of the higher caste, who may have felt inclined to enter into membership with them. The Sudra knows that he must forfeit his rank and social position when he becomes a Christian, and although it is a wicked exaggeration to tell him that as a Christian he will become a Pariah and an "outcaste," he has nevertheless to step out of the old order of society, which was dominated in every direction by the caste system, and to enter that Christian society to which he is a complete stranger, which lies entirely outside of his old world, and whose social standing, whilst it has been slowly raised during the course of the last century, has still much ground to make up. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this abnormal condition of things existed in the Tamil country: that when any one became a Muhammadan he rose considerably in the social scale, and attained a respectable standing civilly; whereas any one who became a Christian sank into a bottomless abyss. Only gradually, as a result of their increasing spiritual power, their prosperity, and the growing reputation of missions, has the social position of the Christian section of the community been elevated. The immediate consequence of the new definite caste policy was that the Sudra classes assumed a more determined attitude of reserve towards missionary work than they had done in the eighteenth century. Whereas in Schwartz's time the Sudra Christians were in the majority in the Church, it now became a

much rarer occurrence for a Sudra to change his faith. On the other hand, the Pariahs gradually waked up and began audibly to knock at the doors of the Church for admission. The relations between Sudras and Pariahs in the evangelical churches have in the course of the century turned more and more to the disadvantage of the former, and at the present time the Pariahs tend in ever increasing proportions to form an overwhelming majority. The change in caste policy, whilst not the only one, has yet been a very powerful factor in bringing about this condition of affairs.

It must not be supposed, however, that the reformed missionary societies have been in favour of the sterner policy, whilst the Lutheran societies have in general adopted an opposite and more tolerant one, nor that the Anglo-American missions have declared for the one and the German and Continental missions for the other. It would be far nearer the mark to state that the Leipzig Missionary Society stands practically alone on the side of a sufferance of caste, while on the other side is arrayed the almost unanimous consensus of opinion of all the other societies, and it is just such German societies as those of Basle and of Hermannsburg and such Lutheran societies as the Danish and those of the General Council and General Synod,[1] which advocate the standpoint of opposition to all caste with the greatest firmness.

The question of caste was the cause of specially painful events on the occasion of the founding of the Leipzig Mission in South India. We shall, however, treat of those disputes to better purpose in the course of our proposed special history of Tamil missions.

2. The Age of Alexander Duff (1830–1857)

(a) *Alexander Duff and his Work*

The second period of missionary work in India is best introduced by the figure of Dr. Alexander Duff, whose far-reaching labours left a deeper mark upon it than was made by any other missionary. When Dr. Duff, then only twenty-one years old, arrived at Calcutta in 1830, after a voyage lasting seven months, and interrupted by two dangerous shipwrecks, the great movement which had been produced by the operations

[1] The Hermannsburg Missionary Society was founded by the Lutheran pastor, Louis Harms, at Hermannsburg, in the province of Hanover. The General Council and General Synod are two Lutheran Churches in the United States of America which possess missions of their own in the Telugu country.

of the Serampore Trio had practically come to a standstill, and though there still remained a number of zealous and able missionaries in Calcutta and the neighbourhood, neither their methods nor the success they met with commended themselves to the highly gifted Scot. He at once got the impression that missionary work had so to speak reached a *cul de sac* in which further progress was barred. The congregations gathered by the preaching of the missionaries were everywhere small. Furthermore, it was a veritable disaster that the only candidates for baptism in North India were, with few exceptions, poor downtrodden individuals belonging to the lowest castes, and that these persons henceforward remained pecuniarily dependent on the missions they joined, and thus made no advance towards true moral or religious independence. The Christian community exercised a repellent rather than an attractive influence upon its Hindu neighbours, and was more of a hindrance than a help to missionary progress. Duff therefore asked himself the question, "Is there then no possible way of getting into touch with the influential classes, the upper castes of India?"

In the years immediately preceding Duff's arrival (1824–1826) missionary circles in India had been warmly interested in a big scheme, which had been drafted in South India by two very keen but not very wise young missionaries of the London Society, Drs. Massie and Laidler. They wanted to found in Bangalore, a high and healthy station, but at that time at some distance from the great Indian trade routes, an "Anglo-Indian University," with English professors to give instruction in all the Western sciences and learned pundits to teach Sanskrit and Indian subjects. This great project, which had not, however, been maturely worked out either from a technical or from a missionary standpoint, had failed owing to the opposition of the Directors of the London Missionary Society and the inconsistency of its promoters. Duff's homeland had been from time immemorial the El Dorado of higher education; the circles in which he and his friends moved had always looked upon missions as a kind of educational work: to found schools and colleges for the dissemination of Christian culture in India had been the purport of the first missionary resolution of the Scotch General Assembly in 1825. Hence Duff firmly made up his mind within a few weeks of his arrival in India that the new line of missionary work which he was destined to strike out was to bring the youth of India under Christian influences by means of schools. Note well, his idea was not schools for the children of Christian parents; the duty of educating the younger generation of the Christian community in the spirit of Christ has ever been one of the most obvious

duties of Protestant missions. Duff's plan was to create schools for the children of heathen parents, that the schools themselves might be the instruments of pioneer missionary work. In this way he hoped to gain three ends. Education, and particularly higher education, is in the civilised lands of the East a prerogative of the highest classes. If Duff could succeed in making his schools popular, he would thereby gain entrance to the first circles of society in the country—and that seemed to him desirable, not only because all the methods hitherto adopted by the different missions had failed to gain such access, but also those very classes were in India the privileged leaders of society, the sole possessors of higher culture and of an already developed intellectual life. Secondly, he could confidently expect from his higher education the wide dissemination of a general knowledge of Christianity and Christian views of life. Christianity would become a centre of public interest, and, at the same time, a matter of universal concern; in this way it would prove itself the mightiest spiritual force in existence, and capable of entering into ghostly conflict with the ancient Indian spirit world and its ideals. Thirdly, Duff expected with believing faith that from his schools there would grow up, if not a numerous, yet for that very reason a more brilliant, body of truly converted young men, all of them belonging to the very best families and equipped with a complete Western and Christian education. A contingent of Christians of this calibre seemed to him the more "devoutly to be wished" because of the humble origin of the majority of Christians of that time.

But how was Duff to make specifically Christian schools aiming at such high missionary goals so popular that the élite of the youth of India should flock thither, so popular that they should become a great power in the life of the heathen masses? The high schools of the Brahmans and Muhammadans were on the decline during the first thirty years of the last century, and the tols, or Brahmanical seminaries, at Benares, Ajodhya, and Nuddea retained hardly a gleam of their old splendour, and could only point to a very small number of Sanskrit-speaking teachers and scholars. British administration had at first, in conformity with the views still prevalent in England, left educational matters entirely outside its purview. When, towards the end of the eighteenth century, it began to concern itself in the matter, it saw in this neutral and, as far as it was concerned, indifferent ground a suitable sphere for the performance of small favours towards the subject peoples. Thus in 1781 a "madrissa," or College, was built for the Muhammadans of Calcutta; in 1791 a Sanskrit College was

founded at Benares; in 1824 a College for Hindus was taken over (which had been erected in Calcutta by private subscription in 1817). At the beginning of the nineteenth century traces of definite principle first found their way into the Government's education policy. At that time the marvellous faery world of the Orient was opening up to scholars, and the magnificent Sanskrit language and the rich Sanskrit literature was being unlocked to mankind. Orientalists were enchanted with this new domain. It seemed to them in the highest degree desirable that their discovery of this old world of culture should produce in India an intellectual Renaissance. The large sums of money which the Charter of 1813 placed at their disposal for scientific and scholastic purposes they spent solely in the pursuit of such old classical studies. In the newly founded School of Medicine at Calcutta the Sanskrit treatises of Charaka and Susruta were studied, in the Muhammadan "madrissa" the medical writings of Avicenna, and from these long-forgotten and out-dated works costly school editions were prepared. The enthusiasts for things Oriental possessed the ear of the Government, at whose cost alone they were able to carry on this original research.

Along with these one-sided antiquarians, a second and more modest movement could be discerned, that of the vernacularists. They emphasised the claims of the living languages of the country, and strove to assert their right to serve as the bases of all educational training. The missionaries were the first to learn the various vernaculars, in many cases the first to reduce them to writing and to lay the foundations of a future literature. They were one and all predisposed to favour the vernacular, which was indispensable at every turn in missionary work. But the statesmen of India too, in the midst of this Babel of tongues, felt the urgent necessity of making one language the language of the Government, and establishing it as the *lingua franca* of their domain. Taking example by the Muhammadans, who for four hundred years had made Hindustani or Urdu the language of the State and of the Bench, they did not hesitate to follow in the footsteps of their predecessors. They specially favoured the Persian tongue, as being a supposedly more elegant if more noble language for courts of justice—in this again resembling their Moghul predecessors. They found themselves, however, confronted with the great question as to whether they, the English lords of the land, should also learn Urdu, speak Urdu, and write Urdu—much as the Dutch in the Indian Archipelago had made the Malay tongue the organ of their official proceedings. Englishmen have never had either a great liking or an innate talent for learning foreign languages. They are born into the world with the idea that English is the tongue

of universal culture and that every other, especially every Indian dialect, is inferior to it; so that whilst one may out of condescension or for political purposes make use of them, it would be quite below their dignity to use them in ordinary conversation. This idea prevented the vernacularists from gaining their point. To give the Hindus a solid education in the vernacular just for the sake of the training and the intellectual uplifting of the natives was an idea which never presented itself to their English lords, and the latter cleared themselves in their own eyes by declaring that the modern languages of India were in such a state of confusion that not one of them could be regarded as a fit instrument for imparting higher education; they must attain a certain degree of maturity and intellectual capacity before they could be the agents for the culture of the Christian West.

It was here that Duff struck out in an entirely new direction. In direct opposition to public opinion, and even to the painful surprise of other Bengal missionaries—with the exception of the aged Carey—he resolved to make the English language the vehicle for the new civilisation and culture. Duff was of Gaelic descent; he was guided by the experience of his own more limited fatherland: just as the Gaelic-speaking country population of Scotland is linked by means of the English language with the great civilised world and is permanently influenced by it, so English was to be to Bengal, to all India, the channel for the Christian learning of the Western world. Duff expected that the people of India would be vitalised by the powerful stream of this new learning, communicated to them by means of the English language, to the same extent that his own fellow-countrymen had ever been. He determined further that, as it was beyond doubt that the English would retain their own language, it would be absolutely necessary for the Indians to learn English. The knowledge of English, which would slowly work its way farther and farther afield, would have to be peremptorily demanded from all who were in the employ of the Government. To make English the language of universal trade was undoubtedly the aim of the English commercial world. The thorough cultivation of English in India must therefore have a great future. The only question was whether those castes and classes of India which had hitherto given the lead in matters intellectual would hold themselves coldly aloof from English, or whether for the sake of the ever increasing material advantages which would accrue from a knowledge of it, they would welcome it. For this reason it was of importance that Duff should make his experiment in Calcutta, the intellectual centre of the most intelligent and susceptible race in India. Here he met with such unqualified

success within a very few years that his example became of the most radical importance in the later development of the Indian educational system.

Duff opened his new school on July 13th, 1830. Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, and perhaps the only Hindu of that day who had obtained a thorough English education, and who had thereby been brought so much the nearer to Christianity, was his helper in the bold undertaking. The attempt succeeded beyond all expectation. It was demonstrated that there existed a simply insatiable hunger for a knowledge of English amongst the younger generation of the better classes in Calcutta. When at the end of the first school year Duff showed, by means of a public examination, what progress the students had made in that short space of time, public opinion veered completely round in his favour. At the same time Duff gave the Bible and Christian teaching such a peculiar and commanding place in his school programme that ere long permanently Christian influences were radiating from his highly spiritual personality. As soon as this became apparent, through the frank testimony of the scholars, through their conversion or especially through their baptism, a rumour of it was quickly spread through Calcutta, and the cry went up, "Hinduism is in danger." Then Duff's school was emptied at one stroke, and writ large in the Hindu newspapers appeared the menace, "Whoever sends his children to this school will be driven out of his caste." Yet before a week had gone by the school was again filled to the very last place! With a few interruptions Duff remained in Calcutta nearly a third of a century (1830–35, 1839–50, 1856–63). (Of his profoundly stirring pioneer work in the development of a missionary spirit in Scotland we cannot here give any account.) He thus had time to thoroughly work out his educational plans, and when compelled to give up his first missionary premises to the Established Church in consequence of the Disruption in the Scottish Church (1843) and his own adhesion to the recently established Free Church, he was able to found in Neemtola Street, Calcutta, another imposing institution.

We cannot follow up Duff's labours in detail; it is more important for us to review the effects produced by them. These are, in the main, four. The inrush of Western culture into India had the immediate result of shattering of the Hindu conceptions of life, and turning into objects of ridicule its curious ideas of the world and the elementary forces of nature. So far as Western science had up to that time been taught, as for instance at the already mentioned Hindu College, or through the writings of English deists and atheists brought

into the country by unscrupulous booksellers, it had conducted the Hindu, thirsty for knowledge but without judgment, into paths of unbelief and materialism. It was the merit of Duff and those who soon rallied to his side that they proved before the eyes of all India, convincingly and with great force of intellect, that the West had not only this barren materialism to offer India, but rather a conception of life resting upon idealistic principles, and finding in the Bible the highest truth and the noblest morality. Competent witnesses and contemporaries testify to the fact that so long as Duff remained in the mission field, and especially up to the Mutiny in 1857, the Christian presentation of life at any rate held its own against that stream of non-religious culture which was then unfortunately rushing in upon India, even when it did not completely turn it back.

Further, Duff's influence was of great importance in the after development of the Indian school system. Nothing but the fact that such a far-seeing man as Lord Bentinck was at that time Governor-General, and that his chief adviser was the pious and sensible Sir Chas. Trevelyan, enabled Duff to render such service in those early years. Only five years after his school had been opened, Duff had the triumph of seeing the existing educational policy of the administration thrown to the winds, and a new policy of reform based on his own ideas adopted.

On March 7th of that year, 1835, a Minute of the Government was published, according to which it became the aim of the Government to naturalise European literature and science in India, and that all available funds should be used solely for the fostering of English culture; the schools which had hitherto been supported, or partially supported by the Government, and which the antiquarian hobbies of the Orientalists had artfully kept open, should one by one drop out. Also the School of Medicine established in Calcutta in 1822, which had up to the present tormented itself with the old Sanskrit text-books, was closed, and in 1835 replaced by a Medical College on European lines, in which the dissection of the bodies of both men and animals, so abhorrent to the Brahmans, became one of the most carefully fostered branches of science.

That was the first definite step taken by the English Government along the new path marked out by Duff. It was but a case of cause and effect when nine years later the Governor-General, Sir H. Hardinge, published a further order (October 1844) to the effect that, as education in English had made such great progress in Bengal since the Minute of 1835, the entire Indian civil service (with the exception of the 750 highest

positions or thereabouts, the so-called "covenanted service," in which monster salaries were obtained and which the English reserved for themselves) was to be thrown open to English-speaking Indians without distinction of race or creed, and at the commencement of each year the Government schools and the mission schools were to furnish a list of those persons eligible to enter the service of the State. Even in the lowest posts a candidate who could read and write was to be chosen in preference to an illiterate. Of course, between the publication of such a philanthropic Minute and its being regularly carried out was a far cry. As a matter of fact, until the revolt of 1857 all the higher offices and posts both in the civil and military services remained closed to natives, and still more so to Christians; and discontent at this retrogressive policy was one of the leading reasons for the ever growing unrest. That such a decree should be enforced had also been one of the demands on the occasion of the renewal of the Charter in 1833—unfortunately, in vain.

Also in connection with the second definite move in the new Indian educational policy, the famous "Educational Dispatch" of Sir Chas. Wood (later Lord Halifax) on July 19th, 1854,[1] Duff exercised, along with his distinguished friend Sir Chas. Trevelyan, a definite influence. When the protracted and complicated negotiations anterior to the last renewal of the East India Charter were going on in 1852, Duff was in England, and he was accepted, even in Government circles, as a supreme authority on Indian affairs. Frequently consulted upon this question, he threw the whole weight of his personality into the balance in order that this Magna Charta of Indian education might pass into law. The Dispatch brought with it a necessity for the most far-reaching reorganisation. To begin with, in each of the Indian Presidencies a "Department of Public Instruction" was formed with control over the whole of the educational system of that particular Presidency. Then three Indian Universities were created on the model of the University of London, *i.e.* simply as centres of intellectual life and as examining bodies. These were erected at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras in 1857—a fourth University was founded at Lahore in 1882 for the Punjab, and a fifth for the United Provinces at Allahabad in the year 1887. To these Universities all colleges and high schools were to be affiliated, in order to obtain for their students rights of entrance to the higher or lower branches of the Civil Service, and permission to take the necessary examinations. Thirdly, a most elaborate system of support for the whole

[1] It comprises eighteen folio pages in the Blue Book; it was drafted by a future Viceroy of India, Lord Northbrook.

of education was inaugurated, the so-called "grant-in-aid" system; that is, the Government declared its readiness to support according to a fixed scale any school, no matter by whom established or how directed, providing it complied with certain conditions as to school premises and teaching staff, and as to a certain amount of instruction in prescribed subjects, religion alone excepted.[1] The Government therewith declared its

[1] The Indian educational system, as developed under this system of grants, is not homogeneous in the spheres of the five Universities; likewise the amount of the grant and the designation of the different grades varies, and there are many deviations both in the mode of teaching and in the ideals aimed at by the teaching. The school system of the Madras Presidency may serve as a paradigm. We must say a few words about this, because in the reports of Indian mission schools there occur certain technical expressions which are only to be understood in this connection. The idea of the school unit lies at the basis of the whole educational structure. In Bengal it is the more advanced school which is the unit, in South India the lower-class school, in other provinces combinations of both. The whole school-ladder mounts by fourteen grades, most of which are courses of one year's duration. The first four correspond to the classes of elementary schools, the next six to those of English grammar schools, and the last four are the classes for University examinations. Within such limits the four lowest classes are reckoned as Standards I. to IV., the next, the middle classes, are termed Forms I., II., and III., or Standards V. to VII. The elementary classes taken as a whole are called the Primary Department, the three lower middle classes of the Lower Secondary or Middle Department are called the "Middle School," this being qualified by the terms "Middle English" or "Middle Vernacular," according as instruction in English or in native languages is emphasised in the curriculum. The three upper middle classes are almost universally named the "High School." Of the four academic classes the two first prepare for the examination termed "First in Arts" (F.A.), the two others for the "Bachelor of Arts" (B.A.); as a rule, the actual courses of instruction cease at this point. But a third course of two years' duration is often added, in preparation for the highest academic examination, that of "Master of Arts" (M.A.); this final course is mostly prepared for by private study, but in Bengal teaching is also given for these closing terms. These six years of advanced study compose the "College" in the technical sense of the term, and are the completion of the whole educational system. Promotion from one grade to another, *i.e.* from the Primary to the Middle School, from that to the High School, and from that again to the College, and also to the three degrees (of F.A., B.A., and M.A.), is by means of public examinations. These are for the most part conducted by the University, and are nearly all written and not oral.

In order to assess the annual grant, and to supervise the carrying out of the necessary regulations, a Board of Education is established in each province, having at its head a "Director of Public Instruction." A number of male and female inspectors are placed under the direction of this Board, whose duties are to examine every school and every class annually in order to be able to determine the grant, having due regard to the number of scholars and the standard of their attainments. The examinations for promotion conducted by the University and those for the apportioning of grants held by the inspectors of schools are carried on side by side but independently.

The qualifications for higher and lower positions in the Civil Service, for entrance to Government colleges for special branches of study, to the Teachers' Training Colleges, etc., differ in the various provinces, but they always depend closely upon the above-mentioned examinations. Just as here in Germany the "Einjährigen" and "Abiturienten" examinations (Translator's Note.—The "Einjährigen" examination excuses one year's military service, the "Abiturienten" is the "Leaving Certificate" of a Gymnasium) confer status and open up the way for those who have passed them, so in India do all these examinations conducted by the Universities; the gap between the Primary and the Secondary grades is even bridged over by

resolve to withdraw from direct participation in higher education, to let its more advanced public schools gradually drop out of existence, and to place the high schools in the hands of State-aided societies and public bodies—amongst which the missionary societies took a leading position.

Finally, the Government declared its readiness and its determination to found model schools in each district, and more especially to found colleges for special branches of study, such as law, medicine, art, etc. Duff's biographer, George Smith, says truly that had Duff done nothing more than influence and shape according to his mind Indian legislation on behalf of schools, from the time of Lord Bentinck down to this Educational Dispatch, that alone would have sufficed to procure him the lasting indebtedness of India (G. Smith, *Life of Alexander Duff*, 4th edit. p. 266).

The Educational Dispatch, and especially the grant-in-aid system, became of cardinal importance to Indian education, and can only be described as a stroke of genius. It united the slumbering powers of missions, communities, Indian princes and private individuals in the common task of instructing the people, and made it possible for the Government to exercise such a measure of supervision over their efforts as was necessary at the initiation of so novel a régime. As the zeal for knowledge increased among the Indian people it allowed of a wide extension of the school system even to the remotest districts, without involving the Government in any further educational responsibilities than the appointment of a few more inspectors of schools. And by means of scholarships judiciously awarded it became possible to stimulate the scholars' desire for learning and also to open up a way by which a poor man's children might enjoy a University education. For missions too this grant-in-aid system was of great importance. Whereas formerly, in spite of the benevolent decrees of a Bentinck or a Hardinge, the Government had been loth to grant financial aid to mission schools, missions now had the additional claim of a legal right.[1] And as missionaries like Dr. Duff had had a distinct influence in the shaping of the famous Dispatch, it was perfectly clear that the main tendency of the new grant-in-aid system was to encourage the various missions to engage in the very congenial

them. This system of the educational ladder plays an important part in the modern life of the lower classes of India.

[1] The very smallest amount of money possible had been hitherto spent for educational purposes, and of the few funds available for the purpose the missionary societies received nothing. Furthermore the Court of Directors immediately sought to annul the clauses which worked so very favourably towards missions, by enacting that missionary schools should receive no grant. Their rule, however, came to an end in 1857, and Sir Chas. Wood's Educational Dispatch remained.

work of elementary education to a larger extent than ever before.[1]

There still remain two directions in which we must trace the profound influence of Duff's life-work. His example incited very many to tread in his steps; the way he had taken was trodden, with varied success but to an ever increasing extent, both by other missionaries of his own Church and also by other missionary societies. Duff has for ever secured a place for the mission school among the missionary methods of India.

Especially did Duff, one of its first and most renowned missionaries, imprint his personality on the missions of the Free Church of Scotland; even to-day in India that Church is the "educational" mission *par excellence.* The most splendid memorial of Duff's sojourn in India, and especially of the period before 1857, is his brilliant development of the mission school system: the quarter-century 1830–1857 is the age of the mission school. During that period the Government—in spite of the good intentions of Bentinck—lay really in an apathy which we find it hard to understand; for three years Lord Ellenborough was Governor-General, a man who regarded the political ruin of the English power as the inevitable consequence of the education of the Hindus! Hence at that time the mission school exercised a dominating influence over Indian thought which it is difficult to estimate nowadays. In Bombay Dr. John Wilson (after Duff the most brilliant Scotch missionary of the day) founded the magnificent College which afterwards bore his name. At Madras Anderson and Braidwood opened the General Assembly's School in 1837, which, under the genial direction of Dr. Miller, the most famous educational missionary alive, has become the "Christian College." At Nagpur, in Central India, Stephen Hislop opened in 1844

[1] The Government had hitherto neglected elementary education in a most irresponsible way. In 1834 Lord W. Bentinck had set on foot a general inquiry in Bengal, in order to ascertain what was being done in this direction; the result was that more than ninety-two per cent. of the population which was of an age to attend school never set foot therein. And this report had been accepted without demur! However inadequate mission schools were even in 1852, on account of the relatively small dimensions of missionary work, they at any rate contained four times as many children as the Government schools. All the Government schools together had only twelve thousand scholars in 1854! The devout Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, James Thomason (from 1844) was the first to found elementary schools on any systematic plan. He has been called, with a shade of exaggeration, the "Father of Elementary Education in India"! He endeavoured whenever possible to work in close connection with the already existing village schools (Patashala). Duff and his friends would like to have seen the Dispatch definitely declare the Bible to be a text-book in every Government school. They were only able, however, to get the hitherto partially prevailing custom made into an order, that a copy of the Bible be placed in every school library, and that every teacher should have the right to read it out of the regular school-hours with any pupil who should express a desire for such instruction.

the fourth of his Society's colleges. In 1853 the Church Missionary Society founded St. John's College at Agra, the first principal of which was the future Bishop French; in 1841 Robert Noble opened the "Noble" College at Masulipatam. These were the most famous of the colleges which were erected in rapid succession in the most widely separated parts of the country under the direct influence and inspiration of Duff, to say nothing of other colleges like those built at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay by the National Church of Scotland after the Disruption.

Especially dear to Dr. Duff's heart were the direct results of his own educational work, the conversion of young men of brilliant gifts, wide scholarship, and unmistakable religious sincerity, from the highest classes of Hindu society. Such cases did not abound. Duff's biographer, taking converted families as his unit, only mentions twenty-six of them. But what remarkable personalities, what pillars in the Indian Church, are included in that small number! Krishna Mohan Banerjea, Gopinath Nundy, Mohesh Chunder Ghose, Anando Chunder Mozumdar, and Lal Behari Day are the glittering stars in the firmament of the Indian Christian world. It was something wholly new for North India no longer to see orphan children picked up anywhere, outcastes, beggars and cripples becoming members of the Christian Church, but in their stead scions of the noblest houses. Almost all the aristocratic families of Calcutta were represented amongst the converts, the Mukerjeas, Banerjeas and Chakarbuttys, the Ghoses, Mozumdars and Dutts, the Sirkars, the Naths, the Gangulis. The present writer, whilst at Calcutta, had an opportunity of conversing with several members of these distinguished families, both Christian and heathen, concerning the marvellous period of Duff's activity. They were unanimous in asserting it to be a time wholly unique; they stated that in the highest circles Christianity became the subject of the most animated and most interested discussion; that every family had had to face the conversion of its most able and gifted members; and that an excitement and a tremor swept through Hindu society such as had never been experienced before—nor since. Conversions of persons of the highest rank were not limited to Duff's College at Calcutta. At Masulipatam, Ainala Bushanam, Manchala Ratnam and Jani Ali gave up heathenism for Christianity; at Agra, Tara Chand and Madho Ram; at Bombay, the Parsi Dhanjibhai Naoroji and others. From that time converts from the highest classes of the people have been an important element in Indian Christendom.

(b) *The Patronage of Heathenism—Lord Bentinck's Reforms*[1]

According to its professed policy, the Company represented the principle of the strictest religious neutrality. It piqued itself not a little thereupon, and was never tired of calling attention to this excellent and only suitable "traditional" policy. But from the beginning of the nineteenth century we can trace a most lamentable departure from principle, a departure which became more serious as every decade passed by, and which led the Company on the one hand into an unbounded favouritism towards the native religions, and on the other into an unjust slighting of Christianity. The most scandalous form under which this "universal support" of Indian idolatry made its appearance was the Pilgrim Tax. When the English took possession of Orissa in 1803, the dusky blue god of Puri, Jagannath (Lord of the World), declared his wish—bribery of the Temple Brahmans was successful in making the oracle speak—to be taken henceforth under the protection of the English. The Company accepted most readily the patronage of the famous shrine and the extensive lands which appertained thereto. Soon orders arrived from London to reimpose and levy on behalf of the Company the Pilgrim Tax formerly taken by the Muhammadans, when they were rulers of the land. Marquis Wellesley, at that time Governor-General, refused to execute this order, but in 1806 his weak-minded successor, Barlow, placed all the temple property at Puri under British management, and levied the Pilgrim Taxes relentlessly. The Government undertook in return to maintain the temple buildings, to pay the priests, and to provide for the regular celebration of the temple worship. They made a good thing out of it, for in the first year their net profits amounted to over 135,000 rupees. But how were missionaries to reply to the reproaches of the heathen, when the latter asked, "If Jagannath be nothing, why does the Company receive so many rupees from him?" or "If your religion were true, your Government would support it, but that it does not do, on the contrary it supports our idols." Gaya in Bihar, a spot far famed since the days of Buddha, and one which since the Brahmanical restoration had become almost as famous a shrine for the Hindus as for the Buddhists, offered a new source of income: Pilgrim Taxes were likewise instituted there, and levied with the same painful regularity. Here the Company had the satisfaction of seeing a marked increase in the number of pilgrims directly the English Pilgrim Taxes were introduced; from 21,000 it rose to over 100,000, and the profit in good years

[1] Cf. *Basle Missionary Magazine*, 1858, p. 259.

[illegible] between [illegible] and [illegible] rupees. The flattering success of the taxes at these two famous shrines induced the Company to introduce this heathen poll-tax at two other shrines and temples at Allahabad, at Tirupati in the Telugu country, at Kasipur, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and other places. The net takings of these Pilgrim Taxes amounted on the average to [illegible] and upwards per annum. To understand, but not to excuse, these proceedings we must remember that the English masters of the country now found themselves in a peculiar and difficult position. They had annexed one state after another, and had undertaken, besides the mere government, also the duties which had devolved upon their predecessors. Of these the management of the temples and of the temple property was one. Of course, a way could have been found out of the difficulty had there been any desire for it, but the will was lacking, especially in view of the great profits which were realised in this way.

Soon they went farther, and began openly to support the heathen temples. In Conjeeveram, to the south-west of Madras, the famous temple of Siva, one of the most beautiful structures in the Tamil country, had fallen into decay, and the temple Brahmans either could not or would not repair it. Thereupon Place, an English official, induced the Company to restore the temple, at no small cost, "in order to incite the natives to the exercise of virtue." And the Christian (!) official himself offered a sacrifice to the temple and to its god which for years afterwards was preserved and exhibited as a curiosity. When once a beginning had been made and the Government had openly declared itself to be a patron of idol-worship, there was no stopping its further progress in this direction. Civil and military officials were compelled to honour heathen and Muhammadan festivals with their presence, and even in many cases to present the sacrificial gifts of the Government to the Brahmans. On the occasion of festive processions the idols were greeted with a "royal salvo" of cannon. In times of drought the Government appointed and paid Brahmans to pray for rain. When the clumsy idol cars were brought out, thousands of pilgrims were driven by main force into harness to drag them along like brute beasts. For rebuilding, restoration, and other work in connection with temples, tens of thousands of rupees were disbursed, and the very gastronomical necessities of the Brahmans were not forgotten. Even pagan festivals which had dropped into oblivion were revived, and all sense of shame was lost. The management of the property of one temple after another was taken over by the Company; its officials were then responsible for everything: the construction of new idol carts, new idols, the

appointment and remuneration of the Brahmans, painters, musicians, rice-boilers, and watchmen, and that their cup might be full, even the temple *filles-de-joie*, the Nautch girls, received their pay from English officials. At one time (in 1858), long after the fight against this entire system had been commenced, 8292 idols and temples in the Madras Presidency received annually 876,780 rupees; in the Bombay Presidency 26,589 temples and idols received 698,593 rupees, and in the total area of the Company's jurisdiction 1,715,586 rupees were annually spent in the support of idolatry.[1] At Madras, on New Year's Day, at the Pongol festival, when the Hindu worships the tools by means of which he gains a livelihood, the account-books and official documents in the Government offices, as well as the writing-desks, inkpots and penholders, were solemnly worshipped by order of the Government, who also paid for the whole being carried out with an elaborate ceremonial! In many cases private individuals went even further, they erected temples to heathen deities and endowed them. With special frequency did this happen in the case of those who had heathen mistresses, to please whom shrines were often erected within their own grounds.

From a Company which so continually identified itself with Hinduism in the most obvious and deliberate way, little else was to be expected than that the spread of Christianity would inconvenience it and that it should oppose Christianity by all means in its power. No Christians were allowed in the ranks of its Hindu officials; it would accept any and every Muhammadan or Hindu, but a native Christian was a despicable creature to be looked on with the gravest suspicion. When in 1816 British rule was established in the newly annexed province of Mysore, Christians were expressly debarred from the courts of justice, to which under native rule they had enjoyed an unquestioned right of access.

[1] How this open countenancing of Hinduism was looked on in missionary circles is shown by an assertion made by the then President-General of the Basle Missionary Society. "Idol-worship in India was on the down grade. Many temples were openly falling into decay, the temple treasures were squandered by covetous Brahmans, and the entire idol system had no strength to raise itself up again. Its dissolution seemed impending. Then came the Government and rebuilt the temples, took over the temple property and saw to it that idol festivals and processions were celebrated with their pristine splendour. The whole structure of Hinduism put on a new dignity and new prestige, so that in the eyes of the people it appeared to be as it were born again. Therefore the number of pilgrims, in spite of the high Pilgrim Taxes, increased at famous shrines to an unbelievable extent; the Brahmans came to be regarded as Government officials, and the natives were convinced that, betwixt the Hindu religion and that of the Government, no difference at all existed. A powerful instrument of proof was thus placed in the hands of the Brahmans themselves, enabling them to justify their false religion in the eyes of the deluded populace" (*Basle Miss. Mag.*, 1858, p. 346).

Because a missionary had baptized two female converts in Bengal, he was condemned on an alleged complaint of the god Manu "because he had made the women shrewish towards their husbands"! Happily this ridiculous sentence was reversed by the Supreme Court at Calcutta to which the missionary appealed. A long time after Lord Bentinck had put an end to the degrading punishment of flogging in the army, an English general was not ashamed to sentence a Christian who had deserted but who had then voluntarily returned to two hundred strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails. The Christians were made to realise that under all circumstances and at all times they were in no wise to count on any favour from the Government (cf. p. 132).

The first man who had the courage and the ability to initiate a more sensible régime in India was the Governor-General, Lord Wm. Bentinck (1828–1835). With him India's days of reform began.

Bentinck went out to India under peculiar circumstances. The financial position of the Company was in danger; its dividends had decreased enormously; the burden of debt pressed upon it more heavily than ever; anxious souls feared bankruptcy for the commercial venture which had hitherto rolled in money.

Bentinck was to save the situation. And he was indeed a financial genius; in a very short time he was able to effect considerable economies in all branches of the administration, to open up new sources of income, and to decrease the debt. But Bentinck was more than a skilful financier, he was also an energetic and far-seeing statesman; and because the Company had need of him and was greatly in his debt, it had to give him a free hand in other matters. Bentinck was wise enough to introduce his reform policy in matters that involved no expenditure, but which were inherently repulsive to every English Christian. Amongst the cruelest customs of Indian heathenism was that of widow-burning or suttee. The inquiries of the missionaries and the narratives of servants of the Company, who could speak as eye-witnesses, left no doubt that this custom was carried out with terrible frequency. It has been calculated that in the British districts of the Bengal of that time no less than 5997 widows were burnt alive in ten years, and only too often the unfortunate women were induced to submit to this rite or were thrown by main force amidst the flames of the burning pile. Lord Bentinck forbade suttee and threatened in the future to subject to the penalty of death all those who were in any way connected with it (1829).

By this action he struck at the very root of Hinduism. The Court of Directors in London trembled when it heard of this

measure so diametrically opposed to the policy hitherto pursued by the Company. Old Indian civil servants conjured the Governor-General to repeal the Act; but he stood firm, and India remained quiet. Encouraged by this first success, Bentinck went step by step farther: he forbade the drowning of children in the sacred rivers, especially the Ganges; the exposure of the aged and the sick on the banks of the Ganges; the tempting to self-sacrifice by throwing oneself beneath the wheels of the idol cars in great procession, or by submitting to the tortures of hook-swinging; with iron hand he rooted out the Thags, that fearful criminal caste of North India who in honour of the goddess Kali strangled all who came within their power. Bentinck was also the first who dared to do away, even in part, with the injustice caused by the systematic slighting of Christians. First, in 1832, he issued the decree for the province of Bengal alone that in the eyes of British justice every subject, of whatsoever caste or creed, was equal, and that no one was to be deprived of his citizenship or his birthright should he embrace another creed, Christianity included. All these reforms were carried out without difficulty, and although they attacked long-existent deeply rooted prejudices of the Hindus, they were followed neither by general discontent, mutiny, nor insurrection. This gave great encouragement to the men in England and in India who from Christian and philanthropic motives disapproved of the "traditional" policy of the Company. As the representative of this section Lord Glenelg, a son of Charles Grant, and a true chip of the old block, determined in the year 1833 to commit himself to a downright and decisive course of action and to strike at the very roots of the Company's connection with Indian idolatry. He enacted a law the seven clauses of which read as follows:—

"It is hereby decreed:[1]—

"*First*, that the interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits, and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants, in the arrangement of their ceremonies, rites and festivals, and generally in the conduct of their interior economy, shall cease.

"*Secondly*, that the Pilgrim Tax shall be everywhere abolished.

"*Thirdly*, that fines and offerings shall no longer be considered as sources of revenue by the British Government, and they shall consequently no longer be collected or received by the servants of the East India Company.

[1] [illegible] Kaye, *Christianity in India*, p. [illegible]

"*Fourthly*, that no servant of the East India Company shall hereafter be engaged in the collection, or management, or custodies of monies in the nature of fines or offerings, under whatsoever name they may be known, or in whatever manner obtained, or whether furnished in cash or in kind.

"*Fifthly*, that no servant of the East India Company shall hereafter devise any emolument resulting from the above-mentioned or similar sources.

"*Sixthly*, that in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, their ceremonial observances, our native subjects be left entirely to themselves.

"*Seventhly*, that in every case in which it had been found necessary to form and keep up a police force specially with a view to the peace and security of the pilgrims or the worshippers, such police shall hereafter be maintained and made available out of the general revenues of the country."

According to the customary form of procedure, this Bill of Lord Glenelg's had to be submitted for approval to the Directors of the Board of Control and to the Court of Directors. Both were practically unanimous in refusing it as unworkable. But Glenelg pointed out to them that, since he had the right to send out such a law to India without their approbation, it would be in no wise conducive to their prestige should he enact it against their wishes. The Directors were compelled to submit and the law was dispatched to India, only to cause grave shakings of the head there amongst all the exponents of the policy which had hitherto prevailed. None of the provincial Governments had either the desire or the courage even to attempt to put it into effect. Three years went by, and the law seemed buried and forgotten. When in 1836 an important deputation headed by Bishop Corrie reminded the Governor of Madras of its existence and begged that it might at last be enforced, the latter rudely replied: "The Governor perceives with regret that the Bishop, far from fulfilling the duties of his calling, one of which was surely the controlling of immoderate zeal generated by heated passions, was on the contrary busying himself with matters which were only calculated to endanger the peace and quietude of the country." It had in the meantime become clear to the Court of Directors in England that Glenelg's Law was going to make a yearly difference to their income of £30,000, to such a sum did their takings from Indian idol-worship amount, and they loudly proclaimed that such a sum was "too high a price for them to be willing to pay for falling in with the behests of Exeter Hall spouters."

A new Dispatch was sent to India which practically repealed

this Law of 1833, and which made the earlier laws if possible more binding and the favouring of idolatry even more definite. But overreaching may go too far. In consequence of this repeal a much respected Anglo-Indian judge, Nelson, resigned his office. And when under the commandership-in-chief of Sir Peregrine Maitland, a Christian drummer in the Madras Army was about to be punished because he had refused to beat his drum in honour of an idol procession, the upright Maitland preferred to lay down his command rather than take part in this coquetry with heathenism.

The resignations of Nelson and Maitland gave rise to intense excitement in England, and the indignation of the whole country compelled the Court of Directors, in 1840, to recognise the main lines of Glenelg's Law of 1833. The official connection with idol-worship was gradually broken off; the Pilgrim Taxes ceased; the temples were restored to the Brahmans; the presence of British officers at heathen festivals was no longer demanded. It was a long time before this radical change was accomplished; the Company had taken over far too many temple-lands and had administered far too many temple treasuries, and it was unpleasant and irritating to relinquish these fat morsels. Even at the time of the Mutiny in 1857, when the administration was taken over by the British Government, many shrines and temples were still dependent on the Company. But in any case a new era had dawned, and in this one point, at any rate, the older policy was radically flung aside. In 1862 the last temple and mosque in British hands were, through a further law, made over to Hindu and Muhammadan corporations.

The year 1845 inaugurated yet another change. As Bentinck's above-mentioned Decree of 1832, which assured a Christian's equality of privilege in the law courts of the province of Bengal, had been put into effect without any considerable amount of opposition, the Company now allowed itself under stress of public opinion to extend the decree to the whole of the British possessions in India. It enacted in 1845 the so-called *lex loci*, of which the weightiest clause reads as follows:—

"So much[1] of any law or usage now in force within the territories subject to the government of the East India Company as inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights or property, by reason of his or her renouncing, or having been excluded from the communion of any religion, shall cease to be enforced as law in the courts of the East India Company, and in the courts established by Royal Charter within the said territories."

[1] Cf. Kaye, *Christianity in India*, p. 459.

We may at once add that the year 1866 saw another important law passed for the protection of Christians. Up to that time, when a Christian forsook his old faith, he had been forbidden, on pain of condemnation for bigamy, to remarry as long as his heathen wife remained alive, and as the wife's heathen relations generally prevented her forcibly from following her converted husband, both of them were condemned to an involuntary and painful celibacy. It was for this reason that that excellent Anglo-Indian legislator, Sir Henry S. Maine, got a law passed by which under certain conditions the remarriage of converted natives was permitted, if their heathen wives definitely refused to remain with them—a great boon for the native Christians.

In the meantime the strife in connection with the renewal of the Charter in 1833 had wrung fresh concessions from the Company. Not only did the nation deprive it of the trade monopoly with China, which it had managed to retain during the conflicts of 1813, but a parliamentary resolution compelled it for the future to desist from all manner of trading, to dispose of all stores, provisions, and effects both in India and at home; to sell all warehouses, ships, etc., and henceforth to carry on no kind of commercial enterprise. The "trading Company" was to become a "governing body." At the same time India was thrown open to the whole world, and any and every honest man who liked might settle there. This provision opened up India likewise to the missionary activity of other nations. It was in this year that the missionary labours of the non-English missionary societies began in India.

It was a heated conflict in which one concession after another was gained, partly by the ever growing commercial interests of the English people, partly by the now awakened public conscience, partly by an increasing sense of imperial responsibility in the newly acquired territories, at the expense of the tough conservatism of the Court of Directors. The Company can claim no praise for having carried through any of these important reforms on its own initiative. The old inveterate commercial spirit of the trading house had to be overborne by the new spirit of statesmanship of the nation and by its tremendously strengthened Christian and religious conscience.

(c) *The Advent of German and American Missionaries—The Opening up of the Panjab.* 1833–1857

It is no part of our intention to trace here the work of each separate missionary society. That must ever be the task of the historians of the different societies. It only concerns us to

give a general view of the first appearance of those factors which were of direct importance for Indian missions. We will here mention two events which went to the very root of missionary development in India. Unfortunately that land is periodically scourged by famines, which at times have attained the most truly terrible dimensions. In 1837–1838 a great famine afflicted the Ganges Doab, Rohilkhand, and vast stretches of Bengal, districts which are otherwise the most fertile and most thickly populated of any in India. A million of human beings are said to have perished of hunger and its consequences. It was on this occasion that the Government for the first time instituted relief works on a large scale and saved thousands from death. This time of distress gave the various missions too an opportunity of carrying on rescue work amongst the helpless dying masses. It was then that the missionary societies founded the first important orphanages for famine orphans, such as those at Sigra, near Benares, which became famous under the brilliant superintendence of a German missionary Leupolt, and at Sicandra, near Agra, where the Government presented the Societies with the great mausoleum of Miriam Zamani, wife of Akbar, whom tradition asserts to have been a Christian. A peculiar movement in the Krishnagar district of Lower Bengal, to the north of Calcutta, which had been occupied by the Church Missionary Society in 1821, was in part a consequence of the generosity exercised during this period of famine. From various motives upwards of five thousand Hindus and Muhammadans accepted the Christian faith within a very few years (1838–1840), an unexpectedly rich harvest, as to the quality and importance of which illusions were most certainly entertained at first in Christian circles. The movement ended as inexplicably as it had begun, and it left the missionary authorities with the difficult and thankless task of raising a host of merely nominal Christians to the religious and moral level of a Christian community.

In the Punjab, in the far north-west of India, a mighty kingdom had arisen at the beginning of the nineteenth century, under the Sikh prince, Ranjit Singh. This was the only kingdom in India which appeared to offer great obstacles to the progress of the English. The latter were therefore far from displeased when the over-confident Sikhs, after Ranjit Singh's death in 1839, raided the English territories and thereby prepared the way for their own destruction. After two short but sharp campaigns in 1845 and 1849, and a series of the bloodiest battles England had ever fought in India, the whole of the Punjab was annexed (1849) and incorporated in the Indian Empire. It was remarkable that this new province, so difficult

to pacify, should receive as governors a succession of highly gifted and brilliantly distinguished men like Henry and Sir John Lawrence, Robert Montgomery, Sir Herbert Edwardes, General Reynell Taylor, men who in addition to their other distinctions were men of decided piety and great missionary zeal. These men not only made no secret of their Christian profession before Hindu and Muhammadan alike, and allowed Christian principles to control their administration, but they supported the work of the missionaries with a self-sacrifice and an energy of personal initiative such as have hardly been equalled in the history of Indian missions. The Church Missionary Society was the first to benefit by this extraordinarily favourable state of things. That Society took up mission work in the Punjab in 1852. Assisted by the magnificent gifts from these distinguished Englishmen, it was enabled to establish a number of stations in rapid succession: Amritsar in 1852, Kangra in 1854, Multan and Peshawar in 1855; in addition it received from the "Himalaya Missionary Union" (founded at Simla in 1840) its two stations at Simla and Kotgarh, both of which had been established in 1843.

Apart from these operations and those of the Scotch Societies, we find that this second quarter of the century was for the British missionary societies a time of consolidation, of quiet and secret working, of very slow but general development, noticeably different from the febrile and impulsive initiative of the two previous decades. It proved an important step that the High Church Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, strengthened and supported in England as it now was by the ritualistic movement of Dr. Pusey and his school, should at this time (from 1835 onwards) have energetically grappled with the responsibilities which devolved upon it with the heritage of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge[1] in Tinnevelly, in the Cauvery district, and in Calcutta and its suburbs. Its reward was that along with the Church Missionary Society it was privileged to take part in a great ingathering of Shanans in Tinnevelly. In addition the year 1854 saw it enter upon a new sphere of work at the old Moghul capital, Delhi, on the borders of the Punjab.

The Church Missionary Society in the meantime had been reorganising its previously unsuccessful evangelistic work amongst the members of the old Syrian Church at Travancore. As a new field of labour it inaugurated its Telugu Mission in 1841. Beginning at Masulipatam, where a College which soon gained for itself renown was established under the direction of the famous educational missionary Robert Noble, it afterwards extended its

[1] P. 156.

operations to Bezwada on the Kistna (1853) and to Ellore (1854).

The year 1843 was fraught with grave issues to Scotch missions; in Scotland the Free Church shook itself loose from the National Church, and whilst all the Indian missionaries cast in their lot with the former, the State Church claimed the whole of the mission property, and likewise the colleges built at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras by its great educational missionaries, Duff, Wilson, and Anderson. The Free Church of Scotland gave proof of the most marvellous self-sacrifice, and not only made provison for all the missionaries who desired to enter its service, but in a comparatively short time built fresh colleges in the three Indian capitals. It even had the courage to establish, under the charge of the zealous and talented Stephen Hislop, a large new mission centre in Nagpur, the capital of hitherto neglected Central India. The Established Church of Scotland, which at the Disruption had retained the fully equipped mission stations, had difficulty in finding the requisite number of duly qualified missionaries and in meeting current expenses, as it possessed far less of the missionary spirit than did the men of the Free Church. The great educational institutions of Bombay and Madras, therefore, were gradually allowed to lapse, and the only important college maintained by them was the "General Assembly's Institution" at Calcutta. In order to take part in the actual proclamation of the gospel amongst the North Indian peoples, in addition to their educational work in the great towns, a mission on a small scale was commenced by the Established Church of Scotland in 1855 at Sialkot and Wazirabad in the Punjab. Through the enthusiasm of Fergusson, a former chaplain of the Company, this effort was in 1863 extended to the Protectorate of Chamba, on the beautiful lower slopes of the Himalayas. Acting on the advice of Dr. Wilson, the Irish Presbyterians also made a beginning in 1841 at Bombay, and at Rajkot on the Kathiawar Peninsula, and from these centres they enlarged their sphere of work so as to include all Kathiawar and Gujarat. In 1846 they took over the London Missionary Society's station at Surat, and in 1859 all the other stations in Gujarat which had belonged to this older missionary society.

Of other new British Societies, there only remains for us to mention the disconnected work of some pious Baptists and Darbyites in the delta of the Godavari. The founder of this work was the well-known Darbyite, Anthony Groves. At his request two Baptist artisans settled in 1857 at Narsapur, on the chief western estuary of the Godavari, and from there they began to work throughout the entire delta, especially among the Madigas.

Of far greater importance, however, for the later development of Indian missions, was the extensive way in which, during this same period, non-British societies entered the field, and especially German and American societies. The Charter of 1833 had not only opened up Indian trade to all nations, it likewise opened up Indian missions to all Churches. To Continental and American Churches it was a potent and widely understood signal for a great revival of missionary zeal. But let us begin with German missions.

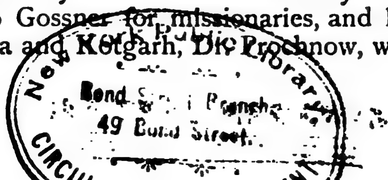
It would seem as if the Basle Society, under its kindly and well-informed Director, Wilhelm Hoffmann, had only been waiting for the issue of the new Charter to start work in India on a large scale. In the year 1834 a beginning was made at Mangalore, on the west coast; in South Kanara, where Tulu was spoken by the majority of the peasant population, a second station was founded at Mulki, a little to the north of Mangalore; whilst yet a third was located at Udapi, somewhat farther north, on the first signs of a general movement amongst the Tulus. As a second sphere the South Maratha country was chosen in 1837, a land in which the ruling tongue is the same as that in Kanara, viz. Kanarese. Dharwar and Hubli were occupied in 1837 and 1839, whilst somewhat later, when in consequence of a famine too sanguine hopes were entertained of a great religious movement amongst certain sects and caste divisions, stations were created at Guledgudd (1851) and Betigeri (1853). Simultaneously the narrow strip of Malabar coast to the south of South Kanara, inhabited by a dense Malayalam population, was taken possession of, and stations were erected at Tellicherry (1839), Cannanore (1841), Calicut the capital (1842), Kodakal (1857), and Palghat (1858). Special circumstances compelled the opening of a mission in Coorg in 1853, and led to the location of a station at Anandapur; and a magnificent donation at Keti, from Casamajor, a rich Englishman, introduced the Basle missionaries in 1847 to the lofty and healthy Blue Mountains. Thus, in the course of little more than two decades, the field of the Basle Missionary Society was occupied to practically the same extent as it has been worked during the past half-century. One cannot but marvel at the skill with which this tiny banner has been planted in the forefront of the attack upon the great fortress of India. The operations of the Basle Society are more uniform, more coherent, and on the whole less broken into by the spheres of labour of other Protestant missions than those of any society of its size in India. Moreover, in this field there are only two great language groups, Kanarese and Malayalam, to which Tulu is nearly related, and of which Badaga is simply a

dialect. Fever-ridden lowlands and storm-enveloped heights are to be found within districts in which the same language is spoken, so that as regards the work of the missionaries, even when not in perfect health, comparatively favourable conditions prevail. And further the Basle Society produced during its first twenty-five years' labours quite a number of distinguished men, such as that original and impressive personality Samuel Hebich, the acute and versatile Mögling, the scholarly Gundert, and others.

A further attempt of the Basle Society to gain a foothold at Dacca and Comilla, in Eastern Bengal, between the years 1847 and 1850, failed owing to the secession of the missionaries sent there to the ranks of the Baptists in 1850.

Likewise the Protestant Lutheran Missionary Society (founded at Dresden in 1836), tired of its initial and unpromising missionary enterprise amongst the rapidly vanishing Papuans of Australia, was just at this time on the look out for a great and promising field of labour. The steady perseverance of its first Indian missionary Cordes, and some adroit profiting by circumstances, allowed it to obtain a footing in Tranquebar, and to take over the neglected inheritance of the Danish veterans. From thence, partly owing to voluntary withdrawals on the part of other societies, and partly in the course of unedifying strife with those societies, the Leipzig Society rapidly extended its operations over the Cauvery districts, as far as Madras in the north, that is to say, with the exception of Tinnevelly and Madura, which was occupied later, over the entire field occupied by the old Lutheran fathers: Poriar (1842), Mayavaram (1844), Madras (1848), Tanjore (1851), Manigramam (1852), and in 1856 Kumbakonam and Coimbatore.

When Pastor Gossner severed his connection with the Berlin Missionary Society in 1836, and on his own initiative began to send out missionaries, his manifold connections with English missionary circles, in which there was at that time a great lack of suitable candidates, soon directed his attention to India. So early as 1839, in company with Start, a pious Englishman, he had sent the first missionaries up the Ganges, where they opened operations at Hadjipore (1839), Muzaffarpur and Chapra (1840), Buxar (1852), Ghazipur (1855), and Darbhanga (1863). At Chapra Dr. Ribbentrop carried on medical work with great devotion, and at Ghazipur Rev. G. W. Ziemann fulfilled his labours of love with true Teutonic thoroughness and fidelity. When in 1840 the previously mentioned Himalaya Missionary Union was founded by a number of wealthy Englishmen, it sent a request to Gossner for missionaries, and he dispatched a number to Simla and Kotgarh, Dr Prochnow, who afterwards



became General Inspector of the Gossner Mission, being among those sent to Kotgarh. When that earnest friend of missions, Donald M'Leod, was British representative at Nagpur (1835–1843), and he expressed a wish to establish a Christian farm colony amongst the Gonds, which was to serve as a nucleus for further mission work, Gossner sent out in 1841 six young brethren to lofty and remote Gondwana. They settled at the Gond village of Caranja, on the Amarkantak plateau, near the sources of the Godavari. Most unfortunately the cholera blighted this promising missionary project within a few months of its inception; four of the six missionaries fell victims to the epidemic and died, and the two survivors fled to Nagpur. These undertakings were but preludes to Gossner's great mission work amongst the Kôls in Chota Nagpur. In 1845 the first of Gossner's missionaries settled in Ranchi. After a few fruitless years, this mission began from 1850 onwards to garner comparatively rich harvests; in 1857, when the Mutiny broke out, there were already 900 baptized converts.

Likewise the Women's Association for the Education of Females in the Orient,[1] founded in Berlin in 1842, found its chief field in India. Its work was done largely in connection with the Church Missionary Society, which had at that time so many German missionaries in its service that the addition of a number of German Sisters created no difficulties. They devoted themselves to the work of the Girls' Orphanage at Sigra, near Benares (1857); when that institution was transferred to Sicandra, near Agra, in 1863, they followed it to its new home. Several very capable Sisters joined both English and American societies from the ranks of this Association.

Just for a short time (1842–1847) the older Berlin Missionary Society had a station at Ghazipur, but it was abandoned because of the Society's rapidly increasing work in South Africa. In 1843 the North German Missionary Society also began operations amongst the Telugus at Rajahmundry, on the Lower Godavari; but this work they passed on to the American German Lutherans in 1848. In consequence of disputes on questions of dogma and financial stress, this mission has since 1869 been shared between two separate but harmoniously working American Lutheran societies, of which the one, the Lutheran General Council, has its headquarters at Rajahmundry, the other (by far the more successful of the two), the General Synod, at Guntur, on the Lower Kistna.

Not actually with a view to work in India, but called into being through the magnetic enthusiasm of the imaginative Gützlaff, was the work undertaken in 1857 by the Moravian

[1] "Frauenverein für Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechts im Morgenlande."

Brethren in the mountain fastnesses of Little Tibet, amidst the scattered and unreceptive tribes, half Tibetan and half Buddhist, to be found in the neighbourhood of Kyelang. This work has been prolific of difficulties and, as far as human eyes can see, extremely little success has accompanied it. A second station was opened in 1862 at Poo, in the highland State of Kunawar, on the Upper Sutlej, but their most important step has been the establishment of a medical mission at Leh, in Ladakh, in 1885.

Equally as important as the appearance of the Germans in the Indian mission field was the well-manned and richly financed work undertaken by the American societies, especially by the Baptists (American Baptist Union), by the Congregationalists (American Board), and by the Presbyterian (American Presbyterian Mission Board North). We have already found the Baptists labouring in Burma as early as 1813; we saw how they extended their operations when they found means of access to the forest and mountain tribes of the Karens. In the period we are now discussing this work made great progress. In 1840 Rangoon was appointed as headquarters of the mission to the Karens, and in the same year a station was created at Bassein. In 1853 were added the important stations of Henzada, Shwedaung, and Toungoo, in 1854 that of Prome. By 1861 there was a Christian community of 59,000 souls.

In the meantime the American Baptists had started work in two new districts in India proper; in 1840 the Telugu Mission, taking Nellore as centre (this station was so unfruitful for thirty years that again and again there was serious thought of its being abandoned; by 1863 it had only registered 41 conversions, and was termed in friendly circles the "Lone Star"), and in 1841 the Assam Mission, working from Sibsagar, Nowgong (1841), and Gauhati (1843); this mission too proved for a long time very unfruitful.

The eyes of the American Congregationalists (American Board) had been directed from the very commencement to India. Thither they had sent their first missionaries in 1812; it was there, in Bombay, that they had maintained one solitary station since 1813. Hitherto they had only been able to develop mission work on a large scale in the Jaffna district of North Ceylon. As soon as India was opened to them by the Charter of 1833, they crossed over from Ceylon, and chose as their special sphere the neighbouring province of Madura, where they founded stations at Madura in 1834, Dindigul 1835, Tirumangalam 1838, Pasumalai 1845, Periacoppam 1848, Mandapasalai 1851, and Battalagundu in 1857. In little less

than two decades they thus covered the entire province on which they had set their affections with a comparatively close network of stations.

A second field of labour was opened up to the Board in Madras, which was the basis of operations for all its South Indian missions during the years 1837 to 1864. From that city its missionaries, and especially members of the Scudder family, a family permeated through and through by genuine missionary enthusiasm, invaded the Arcot district, the most northern portion of the Tamil country. Stations were founded at Arni (1854), Vellore (1855), Palmaner (1859), Madanapalli (1863), and Tindivanam (1869), and thus a second cohesive missionary enterprise was established. Since 1857 this last-named field has been independently worked by the Dutch Reformed Church of America, which had supported and maintained it from the very beginning. From Bombay, too, the American Congregationalists advanced in all directions. As early as 1831 they formed a Church at Ahmadnagar, where they came into contact with the strongly established but susceptible Mahars and Mangs; in 1842 followed the station of Sirur, Satara in 1849, Wadal in 1857, and Sholapur in 1861. This is the Maratha Mission of the American Board.

The Presbyterians found a magnificent sphere in the United Provinces and in the then gradually opening Punjab; in 1834 they planted their first station in Ludhiana, and in 1836 others at Saharanpur and Sabathu. They pushed on through this recently annexed frontier district of the Punjab, first in a south-easterly direction into the United Provinces, founding stations at Allahabad in 1836, Fatehgarh in 1838, and Mainpuri in 1843. Soon afterwards, when the remaining districts of the Punjab were opened up, they established themselves in Jullundur (1846), Ambala (1848), Lahore (1849), Dehra Dun (1853), and Rawalpindi (1856). Theirs was the first missionary society to enter these parts, for even the Church Missionary Society came after them, and through their distinguished missionaries, Newton, Forman, the German Ullmann, etc., they were for a long time, with the Church Missionary Society, the leading society.

Not far away, the American United Presbyterians, by an agreement with the Established Church of Scotland, commenced to labour in Sialkot in the year 1855.

Between the English Particular Baptist Missionary Society in Bengal and the General Baptists in Orissa (since 1822) there now stepped in the American Free-Will Baptists, who at once proceeded to establish a chain of closely linked stations at Balasore (1838), Jellasor (1840), Midnapur (1863), and Santipur.

In the year 1851 a census was for the first time taken of all the Indian societies, which it is true contained a fair number of omissions, and which should be discreetly handled on account of the various methods of computation employed by the separate societies, but which at any rate provides us for the first time with a moderately reliable bird's-eye view of the actual extent of mission work in India at that time. According to this census, Protestant missions contained 91,092 native Christians in 267 congregations, 14,661 of whom were communicants; there were besides 33,037 communicants from amongst 59,369 Christians in 632 churches in Burma, and in Ceylon 11,859 Christians with 8182 communicants in 186 churches.

Let us limit our remarks, however, to India proper. Of the 91,092 Christians, 24,613 belonged to the Church Missionary Society's Tinnevelly Mission, 10,315 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the same region, and 16,427 to the London Missionary Society in South Travancore. These three societies, which worked almost entirely in the same caste-strata, the Shanar or Palmyra peasants, had therefore 51,355 converts, that is, five-ninths of the sum total of missionary success up to that time. The Madras Presidency as a whole, which included, besides the three missions already named, the congregations gathered by the old Danish missions in the Cauvery districts, reported 74,176 Christians. For the whole of the remaining parts of India there remain but 16,916 Christians, little more than one-fifth of the numbers for Madras. This fifth existed almost entirely in Bengal, which had 14,177 Christians. Of these 4417 belonged to the Church Missionary Society in the Krishnagar region, 3476 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in its Sundarbans Mission, and 1600 to the Baptists in the rice districts of Eastern Bengal.

In all other provinces and states of India nothing but modest beginnings of missionary work could be discovered. It was a time of laying of foundations. Nineteen larger and a few smaller societies, having amongst them a total of 339 ordained missionaries, were engaged in the great task. Far and away the strongest of these was the Church Missionary Society with 64 missionaries; then came the London Missionary Society with 49, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel with 35, the Baptists with 30, the Basle Missionary Society with 23, and the American Board with 22 missionaries. These six leading societies had in all 233 missionaries, that is two-thirds of the total staff in the field.

3. From the Indian Mutiny (1857) to the Proclamation of the Empire (1877)

(a) *The Mutiny*

The century following the battle of Plassey in 1757 had been extraordinarily favourable to the development of the vast British possessions in India. Every war had been victorious; the only dangerous rivals to the English, the Marathas in the west and the Sikhs in the north-west, had been severely defeated. From the ruins of the old Moghul Empire one province after another had fallen into the hands of the English almost without an effort. Even the powerful princes of Central India, such as the Nizam of Hyderabad, recognised the supremacy of England. It is true there existed an old prophecy that English rule would only last for a hundred years in India, that is, that it would terminate in 1857; yet however diligently this oracle may have been noised abroad in India, that it would ever be fulfilled appeared in the highest degree improbable. That there was plenty of "yeast" in the country, who could wonder? The last two decades had brought a mass of reforms in which the influence of the spirit of Christianity was unmistakable and whose attack upon traditions, especially the traditions of Hinduism, was undeniable. The question was, Would Hindu India yield to the spirit of the new era without resistance? In any case, it was no wonder if it should protest against the new order of things by a volcanic eruption, especially as just then a most foolish foreboding was in the air that the English proposed by craft or by force to destroy or overturn the caste system of the Hindus. And the caste question is no joking matter with the otherwise docile Hindu; if that be threatened, he is prepared to resist to the uttermost. Islam was gilded by the most glorious traditions of faery splendour and uncontested dominion; would it allow itself to be dethroned without an attempt to shake off the yoke? Would it consent to become the obedient underling of a Christian sovereign—and a woman at that? These were the burning questions of the day and they were of supreme importance to the last great Muhammadan princes. Lord Dalhousie, the last Governor-General before the Mutiny, had annexed one Indian principality after another, and finally, in 1856, even the kingdom of Oudh. Every prince in India trembled then for the continuance of his own supremacy. Yet in spite of all this undeniable unrest the causes of the Indian Mutiny are still unexplained; historians have not been able to throw definite light on the "Why?" and the "Wherefore?"

Sure it is that the Mutiny marks the mighty outburst of a flood-tide of Islamic movements which followed in the wake of the Crimean War (1853–1856). As this war, according to Muhammadan ideas, had terminated in a brilliant triumph for the cause of Islam, the whole Muhammadan world now deemed the time ripe for the re-establishment of the vanished glories of the universal reign of Islam, and of course above all in India. The opportunity there seemed to be most inviting. The army on which England relied for the defence of the first jewel in her crown, her Indian possessions, was composed of 46,241 European soldiers. With these, and under their orders, served some 233,700 Indian Sepoys. What would happen supposing these natives with their fivefold majority should turn upon the few English troops, scattered all over the country? What could but happen if only a portion of the 181 millions who at that time composed the population of the gigantic Empire should dare to raise a serious revolt? Moreover, the Government with incomprehensible shortsightedness, and in spite of the direct opposition of the Governor-General, had just weakened the Anglo-Indian Army by disbanding several regiments. To crown all, it was involved in a war with Persia, and had dispatched thither several regiments and some of its most competent generals.

It is further certain that the immediate cause for the outburst of the insurrection was the introduction of a new kind of cartridges, concerning which it was noised abroad, and not altogether without foundation, that they were greased with the fat of oxen and swine. To take them between one's teeth or even to touch these cartridges was to make a Brahman Hindu soldier break caste, and a Muhammadan to become unclean—both "crimes worthy of death," against which a man ought to protest to the last drop of his heart's blood, and which caused the Sepoys to work themselves into a perfect frenzy of madness. And it ought not to be forgotten that it was in the Army of Bengal that the English had spared caste feeling and prejudice to the minutest detail, and had thereby fostered a spirit of arrogance and exaggerated self-importance.

Our business here is not to write a history of the Mutiny. On May 10th, 1857, it broke out at Meerut, in the North-West Provinces, and spread like wildfire from garrison to garrison and from province to province. In a few weeks almost the whole of North India was in flames; the Englishmen who fell into the hands of the mutineers were mercilessly hewn down, and the women and children were not spared. Together with the missionaries and their families, the native Christians, especially those who had taken a leading position as teachers or preachers,

were in the gravest peril; popular indignation ran high against them as deserters from their people. The struggle soon concentrated round the three cities of Delhi, Cawnpore, and Lucknow. At Cawnpore about 1000 Europeans and truly devoted natives defended themselves in a badly chosen encampment for several weeks, but on June 27th fell victims to treachery. The bloodthirsty Nana Sahib had promised them with the most sacred oaths a free passage down the Ganges; but when they stepped on board the boats he had provided, a pitiless fire from the river bank cut them down almost to a man. The 125 English ladies and children who on this occasion fell into the hands of Nana Sahib, the Man of Blood, were butchered in cold blood on July 15th and thrown dead or dying into a well. It was the most ghastly tragedy in the whole Mutiny. After a siege lasting four months, the old imperial city of Delhi was on September 20th captured from the hands of the mutineers. The defence of the so-called Residency, or fortress, of Lucknow during the four and a half months, from July to November 1857, is the most brilliant page of the melancholy story. It cost, it is true, the lives of those excellent generals, Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Henry Havelock, but it ended, in spite of the immeasurably superior force of the enemy, in the relief of the well-nigh decimated garrison. With the rescue of these valiant troops our interest in this series of bloody events terminates. Only in the north of Oudh did the Mutiny take the form of a national war; it was nearly a year before the last sparks of this destructive fire were stamped out both there and in Central India.

That mission work in India should have suffered severe losses in this sudden and powerful outburst of national passion is all the less to be wondered at as a network of stations reached almost from end to end of the region in which the Mutiny occurred. When Delhi was captured by surprise on May 11th every missionary resident in the city was murdered; belonging to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were Rev. A. R. Hubbard and two catechists, Sandys and Koch; to the Baptists, J. Mackay; a number of wives and daughters of missionaries, and the English chaplain. There also fell three distinguished Indian Christians, the most lamented of whom was Wilajat Ali, a Baptist preacher. In the tragedy at Cawnpore there fell Revs. W. H. Haycock and H. E. Cockey, of the S.P.G., whilst the American Presbyterians lost Messrs. J. E. Freeman, D. E. Campbell, A. D. Johnson, and R. M. McMullen, who had fled for safety to Cawnpore from their menaced station of Fatehgarh, together with the wives of all these missionaries and two children of the Campbells,—a great

bath of blood and the heaviest loss sustained by the mission. At Sialkot the Scotch Presbyterian missionary, Hunter, and his family were also put to death. If we add several English chaplains and their families to the list, we find that 35 or 37 members of missionary's or chaplain's families were murdered, together with 15 native Christians of special distinction. However painful such losses were, we cannot but admit that they were, comparatively speaking, insignificant. At the time the Mutiny broke out there were about 300 members of missionaries' families within the affected sphere; that scarcely 10 per cent. of these were killed is a pure miracle. We can only explain it by the fact that the rage of the populace was not directed in the first place against the missionaries, and that the latter had not only faithful friends amongst the converts, but they likewise found many protectors among the heathen, who either assisted their flight or concealed them. Thus by far the greater part were able to escape either northwards to the mountains, or down stream to Agra or Benares, etc. It is cheering also to read of the slight losses sustained by the native Christian Church. The young Christians as a rule stood firm, cases of open recantation were rare, even when the choice lay between denial and instant death. At Fatehgarh, Dhokal Parshad, headmaster of the mission school (American Presbyterian) in the neighbouring town of Farrukhabad, fell into the hands of the rebels. They offered him life and freedom for both himself and his family if he would renounce his faith. He answered, "What is my life, that I should deny my Saviour? I have never done that since the day I first believed on Him, and I never will." He bowed his head, and was immediately executed. Gopinath Nundy, too, a well-known convert of Duff's, and at this time a minister under the American Presbyterians, fell into the hands of the enemy and was thrown into prison together with his family. He too remained steadfast under every kind of torture, being greatly encouraged therein by the comforting words of his fellow-prisoner, Cheek, an English ensign, who called out to him, "Padri, Padri, hold on; never give in."

It is unfortunately the custom to lay the blame for every rebellion or war in the colonies on foreign missions and on the missionaries. Such opinions were by no means slow to make their appearance in England during the year 1857. At Barrackpore, the great barracks at the gates of Calcutta, the Christian Colonel, Wheeler by name, was stated to have caused the mutiny by teaching some Sepoys who had come inquiring the way of salvation. At a still earlier date in London, an ex-Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, had thundered in the

House of Lords against his successor, Lord Canning, because the latter was said to have put down his name for a missionary subscription—which by the way was wholly untrue! The missionaries were said to have so keenly injured the deepest feelings of both Hindus and Muhammadans, and to have threatened so violently that which they held to be most sacred, that the rebellion might be regarded as a counter blow to the dreaded Christianising of the country. It will therefore not be without interest, considering the frequency with which such complaints and insinuations recur, at this point to enter upon a quiet and unbiased examination of the matter. What are the facts of the case?

It is quite certain that many mission stations were pillaged and burnt and that a piteous loss of life took place both in the families of missionaries and in the native Church. These excesses, however, on the part of the mutineers occurred only at those stations and among those communities which lay in the direct course of the devastating cyclone, and they were, on the whole, remarkably few in number. Far and away the strongest mission in the Mutiny area at that time, the Church Missionary Society, had practically no loss of life to deplore. In those districts of India where Christianity had become a power, and especially in the Presidency of Madras, everything remained peaceful; only the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, where mission work was still in its initial stages, rose in rebellion. With the solitary exception of Oudh, which at that time was wholly unevangelised, the Mutiny was confined almost entirely to the Sepoy Army, and its soldiers were precisely those whom the East India Company, with the most pathetic care, had always kept hermetically sealed from every kind of missionary influence! A comparatively large number of military chaplains and their families fell victims to the Mutiny. Furthermore the very province which had been openly and expressly governed in accordance with Christian principles and not with traditional policy by men of decided Christian character, the Punjab, remained quiet, and alone provided the means whereby the Mutiny was so quickly suppressed.

The native Christian communities, feeble as their numbers were, proved themselves to be thoroughly trustworthy. In the fort at Agra, where large numbers of Englishmen were crowded together, the native Christians readily entered their service, filling the places of the heathen servants who had deserted almost to a man; and they served both faithfully and well. Native Christians worked the ordnance of the fortress. In Bengal, within fourteen days of the outbreak of the Mutiny, the Krishnagar Christians volunteered to support the Government with troops, the trans-

port service, or anything else that lay in their power, without claiming any reward or pay. At Mirzapur, near Benares, and in the Hooghly district to the north of Calcutta, peace was preserved by police patrols composed of native Christians. At Chota Nagpur the German missionaries offered 10,000 Kôls as auxiliary troops. From Burma Dr. Mason, an American Baptist, promised a battalion of Christian Karens. All these offers were declined by the shortsighted Government, in order not to make an "invidious distinction," by accepting the help of the native Christians. But for any one with eyes to see, it was clear as daylight that in the native churches there was a class of people whose interests were coincident with those of the Government and upon whose good faith reliance could be placed absolutely. (Cf. Hodgson Pratt's Dispatch, *Basle Missionary Magazine*, 1850, p. 381.)

(b) *Neutrality or Christianity—The Controversy at Home*

These events and the experience of devout statesmen like the two Lawrences, Robert Montgomery, Edwardes, and others in the Punjab encouraged the Christian party in England, whilst still deeply impressed by this tremendous calamity, to open a fresh and decisive campaign against the Company's "traditional policy" of neutrality. Was it not possible to diffuse throughout the whole of India those Christian principles which had so splendidly stood the test in the Punjab, and to exchange the existing "neutral policy" for a definite "Christian policy"? The demands of the leaders of this movement were by no means excessive. They are best summed up in a memorial presented to Queen Victoria in 1858 by the Church Missionary Society. Amongst other things, the following words occurred: "Your Memorialists humbly beseech your Majesty to have it declared to the public authorities in the East Indies:—

"1. That the existing policy will be no longer professed or maintained, but that, as it is the belief of your Majesty and of this Christian nation that the adoption of the Christian religion, upon an intelligent conviction of its truth, will be an incalculable benefit to the natives of India, the countenance and aid of Government will be given to any legitimate measures for bringing that religion under their notice and investigation.

"2. That since the Government, in addition to maintaining its own educational establishments, provides grants in aid to all other schools which provide a prescribed amount of secular knowledge . . . the Bible will be introduced into the system of education in all the Government schools and colleges, as the only standard of moral rectitude, and the source of those Christian

principles upon which your Majesty's Government is to be conducted.

"3. That any connection which may still subsist between the Indian Government and the revenues or ceremonies of the Muhammadan, Hindu, or other false religion shall at once cease and determine."

For nearly two years a hot battle was waged in England by means of the press, of public meetings and in Parliament on these points,—an interesting proof of the way in which the public conscience of England had been stirred to the very depths by the Mutiny, and of the influence which the Christian party of that day, especially the Church Missionary Society and its supporters, was able to exercise even in those Government circles which would eventually have to decide the question. It is the most strenuous campaign ever undertaken against the old Indian "neutrality policy," and can therefore be rightly judged only when placed alongside the abuses which were covered by the wide mantle of that high-sounding word. In spite of all its energy, however, the Christian party was beaten and the "principle of neutrality" carried the day. The only concession of any value to the cause of missions was a section of the Proclamation issued on Queen Victoria assuming the sole government of India. It ran as follows: "We hold Ourselves bound to the natives of Our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all Our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, We shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. . . . Firmly relying Ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the Right and the Desire to impose Our convictions on any of Our subjects." That was, of course, but little when compared with the programme of the missionary party, but it was none the less a personal confession of faith on the part of the Queen, and as such of value in this crisis: India was to know that it was governed by a Christian.

More important than these "sand-ploughing" discussions about "Christian" policy was the decision as to the future government of India. All the negotiations concerning the renewal of the Charter since 1783 had had the tendency of gradually curtailing the rights and liberties of the Company, and had given the British Government an ever increasing claim upon India. It was, of course, an unheard-of condition of things that a small and exclusive company of merchants should be in sole possession of a great empire replete with inexhaustible wealth. It was tolerable only so long as commercial relations with India were difficult, their risks great, and their profits uncertain. It was simply impossible when England saw that

India was far and away the richest and the most promising of its possessions overseas, and when it perceived with affright that this jewel had been within a hair's breadth of being lost during the late revolt. However great might have been the services rendered by the Company in acquiring and developing this dependency, the national instinct of self-interest now demanded its rights; for the future India must belong to England, not to the Company. Of course the Company and the Court of Directors defended themselves against their own suppression by every means in their power; for them it was a fight for existence. But the result could never be for a moment in doubt. The Company was forced to submit. Queen Victoria took over the government of India, and by a stroke of the pen the Company ceased to exist. The Company's "Governor-General became the English Queen's Viceroy."

At a brilliant durbar held at Allahabad on November 1st, 1858, Lord Canning read the proclamation by virtue of which the Queen assumed all authority. "This document, which is in the truest and noblest sense the Magna Charta of the Indian people, proclaimed in eloquent words a policy of justice and religious toleration; and granted an amnesty to all except those who had directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. Peace was proclaimed throughout India on July 8th, 1859. In the following cold weather Lord Canning made a viceregal progress through the Northern Provinces, to receive the homage of loyal princes and chiefs, and to guarantee them the right of adoption" (Hunter, *The Indian Empire*, p. 495).

(c) *After the Mutiny*. 1857–1879

This period, and especially the first ten years after the Mutiny, is the most brilliant era of England's dominion in India, at any rate from the point of view that never before had so many statesmen, at once endowed with the most distinguished gifts and moved by the most sincere Christian convictions, occupied the highest positions in the country. Sir John Lawrence was Viceroy from 1864 to 1869, Sir Robert Montgomery and Sir Donald M'Leod were Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab. It was said that the last-named and a devout general, Reynell Taylor, were the two Ferishtas (Angels) of India. "If there were many Christians like M'Leod," said a Hindu, "there would be no more Hindus and Muhammadans." The Governor of Bombay was Sir Bartle Frere, the suppressor of the East African slave trade. Sir William Muir, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, a great scholar and Arabist, wrote a life of Muhammad in four volumes in order to help

the missionaries in their spiritual struggle with Islam. Other notable officials were Robert Cust, the philologist, General Edward Lake, Sir Richard Temple, Henry Ramsay, etc., all men who used their influence, and most of them their wealth also, to further the missionary cause.

Not only had the Mutiny shaken English rule to the depths in India, and for the first time awakened in England a full consciousness of the fact that India lay at the base of her world dominion, it had also powerfully affected English Christendom, and had kindled its sense of responsibility for the peoples of India. To give India's millions the best they had, their Christianity and the Christian culture based thereupon—this was the sacred purpose with which the English Churches returned to their missionary labours of love after the anxiety and heartbreak of the Mutiny. In the two decades that followed this mighty impulse was to work itself out. We can follow it principally,—in spite of the fact that later on missionary zeal greatly abated in England and that neither men nor funds were to be obtained in sufficient quantities, in four great movements: in the growth of the Church Missionary Society, of Methodist missions, of Presbyterian missions, and of missions to women.

The Church Missionary Society had from the first taken advantage of the great national impulses which decade after decade swept over the English people, using them as levers for promoting and deepening missionary interest. At this time there came a twofold impulse to its hand. The great Christian statesmen who had contributed so largely to the salvation of India were almost all its friends in an especial manner and supported its undertakings. And it was precisely the Punjab, the province where more than half the population consisted of fanatical Muhammadans, which had, under the expressly Christian government of these very statesmen, not only remained loyal during all the confusion of the Mutiny, but had even placed regiments for its suppression at the disposal of the Government. The contention, repeated *ad nauseam*, that a pronounced Christian attitude of the Government would drive the races of India into revolt, and would especially embitter the Muhammadans, was crushingly refuted by the facts of the case. On the contrary, wherever the slightest consideration had been shown to the prejudices of the Hindus and the Muhammadans, black hate and revolt had been their thanks; but where Christianity had been frankly and openly professed, millions of Muhammadans were within less than ten years found to be faithful and devoted subjects of the English Crown. And as this fact was true for the whole country, so it was repeated in many widely separated places in the most striking fashion. No

town was so notorious for its fanaticism as Peshawar, near the Khyber Pass. An English Commissioner had declared there that so long as he had anything to say in the matter no missionary should cross the Indus. A short time afterwards this same individual was stabbed by an Afghan on the verandah of his house. His successor, Sir Herbert Edwardes, began his official activity in the very house, the verandah pillars of which were still splashed with the dead man's blood, by founding an evangelical mission for the town; and he established peace and quiet in the place.

So the Church Missionary Society, with the help of the above-mentioned statesman, set about the extension of its mission in the Punjab which had been commenced in 1852 under such favourable circumstances. In 1867 Lahore was created a new centre for the mission, and with it Amritsar. Along the western frontier of India, in the partly barren, partly fruitful Derajat plains lying between the Indus and the contorted chain of the Sulaiman Mountains, stations were laid down at Tank (1862), at Dera Ismail Khan (1868), at Dera Ghazi Khan (1879), and at Pind Dadan Khan (1881). At Clarkabad a great Christian settlement was established. At Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, a footing was obtained, but only after unspeakable difficulties. The procedure followed in founding these stations was for the most part the same: rich Englishmen appealed to the Society on behalf of a certain town, they then placed large sums of money at its disposal for the initial period of its existence; and sometimes they would even erect the mission premises.

The immediate cause of the outbreak of the Mutiny had been the annexation of the extremely wealthy kingdom of Oudh by the English in 1856. Even before the Mutiny the Church Missionary Society had planned the missionary occupation of the land. After the Mutiny, they set to work seriously. Lucknow, the theatre of the most splendid exploits of the English, was the first station (1858), and Fyzabad (in 1862) the second. A few months before the outbreak of the rebellion Dr. Butler had landed as the first apostle of a Church hitherto unrepresented in India, the Methodist Episcopal Church North of America. This Church also began after the Mutiny to branch out in mission work on a scale and to an extent scarcely dreamed of in India before. With almost overwhelming rapidity it established two great groups of stations, the one in Oudh (1858, Lucknow; 1865, Gonda, Sitapur, Hardoi; 1866, Rae Bareli, Unao, Barabanki), the other in the northern part of the United Provinces (1859, Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Jellalabad, Moradabad, Bijnor,

Amroha; 1860, Budain; 1861, Pilibhit; 1871, Fatehganj, Cawnpore; 1881, Agra, Fatehpur-Sikri; 1885, Allahabad). But it did not rest satisfied even with this vast *réseau* of stations; with feverish haste one mission field after another was added thereto: on the slopes of the Himalayas, Mussoorie (1864); Naini Tal (1857); Pithoragarh (1874); in Rajputana, Ajmer, in Sind, Karachi (1874); in Gujarat, Baroda (1888); in Central India, Nagpur and Kampti (1876); in the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad, Secunderabad (1873); Gulbarga (1874); in the Kanarese country, Bellary (1876), Bangalore, Kolar (1876); on the West Coast, Bombay, Mazagaon, Colaba, Poona (1872); in the Tamil country, Madras (1874); in Bengal, Calcutta (1888), Diamond Harbour, Asansol, Pakur; in Bihar, Muzaffarpur, and many other stations in almost every part of India.

During the first ten years of its work this Society devoted all its energies (save in the United Provinces of North India) to evangelistic work amongst Europeans and Eurasians, especially in the person of the eloquent and enthusiastic Bishop William Taylor, who was afterwards the "Missionary Bishop of Africa." Later, however, it took up direct mission work, having a particular liking for undertakings of a literary nature. Whilst in 1856 the Society had not a single representative in India, in 1881 it could point to thirty-two, and nine years later to sixty-five ordained missionaries, and had thus taken precedence of every society then working in India save one. But what a difference between it and the Basle Missionary Society, which followed closely in its wake, and had sixty-one ordained missionaries in the same year. In the German Society there was systematic limitation to given districts with a uniform and straightforward method of work; whereas the Methodists launched enterprises in every part and corner of the country, sometimes recklessly intruding upon the spheres of labour of older societies, yet still with consuming zeal, with great financial resources, and at times under very capable leaders, such as, for instance, Bishop Thoburn, his sister Miss Isabella Thoburn, Bishop Parker, Dr. Scott, and others.

Up to the time of the Mutiny the English Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society had confined its energies to S. India and Ceylon, and had taken a leading position in Mysore and throughout Ceylon. After 1857 it held it to be its duty to take a share also in the work in North India. There, however, it did not look for any self-contained and limited field of labour, but simply founded isolated stations: 1862, Calcutta; 1876, Dum Dum and Barrackpore, suburbs of Calcutta; 1887, Bankura; 1879, Raniganj and Benares; 1872, Lucknow; 1880, Fyzabad. Whether the dispersion of these stations over so

large an area and amid such widely different racial conditions is advantageous to the work appears to us doubtful.

A third noteworthy feature of missionary work after the Mutiny is the advent of a large number of Presbyterian workers, even though the individual missions were but small. We have already mentioned that the American Presbyterians had laid down an important chain of stations from Allahabad in the south-west to Rawalpindi in the north-west, straight through the United Provinces and the Punjab; also that in 1855 the Church of Scotland and the American United Presbyterians had settled down in cordial unity in the north of the Punjab, in the Sialkot, Wazirabad, Gujarat, and Gujranwala districts. These older missions were consolidated and extended by the establishment of new stations. In 1870 the Church of Scotland opened a new mission at Darjeeling, and Kalimpong (1873), which is especially interesting because of the fact that the expense of each separate missionary department was borne by different church guilds. Likewise there now came fresh to the field—another thank-offering for the rescue of India from the stress of the Mutiny—the Irish Presbyterians, who began a stiff and wearisome task on the very hard soil of Rajputana (Beawar, 1860; Nasirabad, Ashapura, Todgarh, 1861; Ajmer, 1862; Jaipur, 1866; Deoli, 1871; Udaipur, 1878; Alwar, 1880; Jodhpur, 1887).

In 1877 the Canadian Presbyterians started work on the still virgin soil of the Protected States of Central India (1877, Indore, Mhow, Ujjain; 1885, Nimach; 1886, Ratlam). Small plants were laid down by the English Presbyterians at their one station of Rampur Boalia in Bengal (1862), and by the Scotch Original Seceders at Chaupara (1872), later at Seoni in the Central Provinces.

Of new societies, there still remain to be mentioned the Danish Missionary Society which, after the troubles of the Ochsian caste dispute, settled in the Tamil country in 1861, and occupied a sphere of influence, principally to the west of Cuddalore; the Hermannsburg Society in the south Telugu districts (1864, Salurpetta; 1865, Nayudupetta; 1867, Gudur, Rapur; 1870, Vakadu, Venkatagiri; 1873, Kalahasti; 1877, Tirupati; 1883, Kodur); the German Protestant Synod of North America in the north-east corner of the Central Provinces, on the Upper Mahanuddy (1868, Bisrampur; 1871, Raipur); the English Quakers (Society of Friends) in the Nerbudda Valley (1876, Hoshangabad, Sohagpore); the Swedish Protestant National Society, also in Central India, from 1878, and two Canadian Baptist Missionary Societies (founded in 1874 and 1875, the one by the Baptists of Quebec

and Ontario, the other by the Baptists of the Canadian Maritime States), which laboured in the northern Telugu districts at Coconada, Bimlipatam, and other places.

Of special interest is the inauguration of women's missionary societies, which undertake more particularly the work amongst the women of India by means of boarding schools and day schools, infirmaries and hospitals, and zenana visiting. We pass over them at this stage, however, in order to trace their development in a more connected fashion later.

As the number of missionaries thus rapidly increased and missionary activity developed, the need for mutual counsel in general missionary conferences became more and more evident. In 1855 the first of these was held in Calcutta for the province of Bengal, the second at Benares in 1857 for the North-Western Provinces, the third at Ootacamund for Southern India in 1858, and the fourth at Lahore in 1862 for the Punjab. These local conferences were the precursors of the first General Indian Missionary Conference, which took place in Allahabad in 1872, and was attended by 136 missionaries. Then came a special South India Missionary Conference at Bangalore in 1879, which has become famous owing to the importance of the business then transacted. These missionary conferences gradually became a great power in Indian missionary life; the ripest missionary experience has found expression in their transactions. Many of the addresses then given are even now well worthy of being read.[1]

During this period there was a great tendency to focus missionary work particularly on the so-called "aborigines." This name was given on the one hand to the whole of the tribes in Western Bengal and the Central Provinces—whose name of Kolarian is both misleading and without ethnological foundation, and on the other hand to those Dravidian peoples and tribes who, when the greater Dravidian races were Hinduised, remained in their mountain fastnesses and primeval forests, and who were, comparatively speaking, in a very inferior state of civilisation. For a long time all kinds of attempts had been made to carry the gospel to these casteless tribes. In Travancore, Alexio de Menezes had sent evangelists as early as 1599 to the Arajers of the hill country—at that time called Malleans. In 1848 Rev. Henry Baker, an English missionary, revived this old-time undertaking and founded amongst the Arajers, or Arriers, the station of Mundakajam. On the Blue Mountains, where countless remnants of the most widely

[1] The report of the Benares Conference (1857) was destroyed in the Mutiny of the same year, but complete reports of all other conferences are obtainable; that of the Allahabad Conference is a volume of 548 pages.

different tribes live as near neighbours, the Basle missionary, Metz (from 1850 onwards), had shepherded the Todas and Kotas, the Irulers and the Kurumbans, traversing precipitous mountains, toiling through the hot passes in the hills, crossing bridgeless torrents and trackless scrub. In 1850 another German missionary, Dröse, of the Church Missionary Society, had tried from Bhagalpur on the Ganges to gain access to the Paharias.[1] However, as these tribes inhabit pathless primeval forests or clefts in the hills at once fever-haunted and most difficult of approach, the work amongst them had everywhere come to a standstill. It was at this point that the great success of the mission to the Kôls attracted the attention of missionary circles at home. Whereas this mission in 1851 had only numbered 31 baptized adherents, and in 1861 2400, in 1871 it had swollen to 20,727, and in 1881 to the very large number of 44,084. At the time of the unfortunate crisis of 1868, when public opinion in India took sides passionately either with the missionaries who had remained faithful to the leadership of Gossner or with those who had gone over to the Anglicans, the Kôl Mission and its rapid growth was in everybody's mouth. People realised that similar conditions to those prevailing amongst the Kôls were to be expected in the case of many other aboriginal tribes and that it was still perhaps both possible and relatively easy to save them from the rapid onward march of Hinduism and to gather them into the Christian Church. So the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel embarked blindly on work among the Kôls, appropriated at least one-third of the success of the Gossner Mission, and established itself in this most promising mission field. Apart from the Kôl missions, interest centred most round the two other strongest aboriginal peoples, the Santals in Bengal and the Gonds in the Central Provinces. Taking Taljhari as their starting-point, the Church Missionary Society began to work amongst the Santals in 1860, and in their well-known systematic way they covered the north of the Santal district with a network of stations. They were followed in 1867 by the two Scandinavians, Skrefsrud and Börresen, who, under the name of the "Indian Home Mission," initiated the work which has since become so famous. In the year 1870 the Scotch Free Church began work in the south-west of the district (Pachamba, 1870; Tundi, in the district of Manbhum, 1879). In 1872 Cornelius, formerly a Swedish sailor, left the Indian Home Mission and founded a little cause independently at Jamtara, with which at a later period the Plymouth Brethren associated themselves. In 1875, A. Hägert, who had formerly

[1] Paharias, *i.e.* mountain people. Their Dravidian tongue is called Malto,

been a hotel waiter, joined this work, and with some friends founded the stations of Bethel, Bethlehem, Bethany, and Bethesda.

To reach the Gonds of the Central Provinces had been the intention of the Church Missionary Society when in 1854 they founded the station of Jubbulpore (near the Upper Narbada); but Jubbulpore turned out to be an unsuitable working centre, no matter how hard the missionaries located there strove to get into touch with the Gonds. We have already mentioned the unfortunate first attempt of Gossner's missionaries in 1841. In 1866 the Free Church of Scotland, from its Central Indian station of Nagpur, made a forward move into Gondwana (the primeval forest district of the Gonds) and established, fifteen miles north of Nagpur, the station of Chhindwara, which was, however, made over to the Swedish Protestant National Society in 1885 on account of its lack of success. The last-named Society had undertaken in 1878 the work which we described above solely in order to evangelise the Gonds; it also turned its attention to other small hill tribes of that region, especially the Kurkus, who were nearly related to the Kôls of Chota Nagpur. Its stations, Sagar (1878), Bethul (1880), Chhindwara, received from the Free Church of Scotland (1885), Nimpani near Bethul (1886), and Amarwara (1888), were all at any rate founded as Gond stations, even though work was everywhere carried on amongst the Hindus by whom the missionaries were more immediately surrounded. In 1874 the American Methodist, Norton, a devout but fanatical free lance, came into this part of the world and settled first at Ellichpur, and afterwards at Baesdehi; he worked principally among the Kurkus. Other unattached missionaries also laboured in these remote regions. In 1879 the Church Missionary Society crossed right over into the Gond territory and founded its first station at Mandla, to which a second was added in 1891, Marpha.

After the Santal Kôls, and the Kurku Gonds, the largest compact mass of non-Hinduised aborigines is to be found in Assam. They do not, however, like those of the rest of India, belong to the Dravido-Kolarian stock, but are akin by a highly complicated ethnological and linguistic relationship to the scattered family of Tibeto-Mongolian peoples. The American Baptists, who in 1841 had taken up work in the humid valley of the Brahmaputra, now set their heart upon the broad highlands which hemmed in the deep river valley towards the south, and upon which there was to be found a dense but strangely mixed population of aboriginal tribes; they worked principally amongst the Garos. Side by side with them

laboured the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, who had located their first station at Cherrapunji, also in 1841, and who now gave themselves entirely up to work amongst the Khasias, the Jains, and kindred populations; in quick succession they founded a number of new stations amongst the hill folk: Jowai (1886), Shillong (1870), Shella (1871), Shangpung (1879), Mawphlang (1878), etc.

In the year 1880 the Church Missionary Society, by the desire and at the expense of a subsequent bishop, Bickersteth, established the station of Kherwara amongst the Bhils, a hill tribe in Rajputana, where that most devoted missionary, Rev. C. S. Thompson, laboured with great self-sacrifice for twenty years—until cholera carried him off. When the splendid waterworks were constructed on the Godavari which were destined to transform the barren plains near the mouth of that great river into waving and fruitful rice plains, the earnest Christian directors of the works, Sir A. Cotton and the future General Haigh, came into contact with the Kois, a shy people and one nearly related to the Gonds, and persuaded the Church Missionary Society in 1860 to build a Koi station at Dummagudem, on the Godavari.

In the early sixties the General Baptists in Orissa attempted, from their station of Berhampur, to reach the wild "Kandhs," *i.e.* mountain people, notorious for their human sacrifices, and with this end in view they occupied Russelkonda. In the year 1863, Rev. W. L. Jones, a self-denying missionary of the London Missionary Society, settled at Dudhi in the Singrowli district, south of Benares, and worked with the most untiring kindliness amongst the depraved and timid peoples of the forest, until in 1870 he was carried off by jungle fever. His work was continued only in a feeble fashion.

Such are the more important attempts that have been made up and down in the forest wilds of India to carry the gospel to the scattered aborigines. The deadly fever of the Indian forests, the entire absence of paths, and the inaccessibility of the villages in the midst of the woods, the timidity of the aborigines, who for centuries past have shrunk from any contact whatsoever with civilisation, their linguistic and tribal differences, and likewise the fact that India offers elsewhere far easier and more attractive openings for missionary work, have all combined to hinder the greater part of these efforts from developing into a real success. Apart from the Kôl and Santal missions, they merely form an episode in the history of Indian missions.

Famines are unfortunately a regular calamity in India, and in this period one succeeded another with painful rapidity. Happily most of them drew only parts of India into this

fellowship of suffering. Thus the famine of 1860–1861 visit only the northern Ganges Doab and Rohilkhand: by that 1866 a million people were cut off in Orissa; that of 1868 sw over Jhansi and Rajputana; that of 1874 over Bengal, Bihar, Bundelkhand. But the terrible famine of 1876–1879 was more or less felt throughout all the north and east of the peninsula. In far-off Kashmir whole villages were depopulated, and the missionaries found everywhere uninterred corpses—on the banks of rivers, in the streets, under the trees. But the districts which felt the famine far more severely than any others were the Telugu and Tamil countries. Here hundreds of thousands died. The Government made tremendous efforts to feed the hungry and to supply those who could still perform it with paid work. Missions went hand in hand with the Government, organising help on a large scale. Especially did the American Baptist missionary, Rev. J. Everett Clough, distinguish himself as much by his practical ability as by his helpful philanthropy. He obtained sole responsibility for three miles of the Buckingham Canal, which had been begun as a famine work, and which was to unite Madras with the Kistna Estuary (Bezwada), and with the sole help of his teachers and catechists he was able to terminate this enormous task to the entire satisfaction of the authorities. In this way he was able to give paid employment to thousands of natives.

To an extent never known before, the Hindus came to perceive that the missionaries meant well by them, and still more, that connection with the Christian community in such seasons of distress was the best protection, and afforded the safest prospect of help for those of the lower castes or of no caste at all. It thus came about that when the famine ceased—as a matter of principle none had been baptized during its actual duration—vast numbers of the people went over to Christianity. In three days (July 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, 1878) in the Ongole Mission 3536 adults were baptized, and before the end of the year the total had increased to 9606; in 1880, 2757 additional ones were added; and in 1881, 2000 more. It is only right to acknowledge that since 1870 a good work had been going on in this mission; nearly every annual report had told of local revivals. But it was the famine which first gave the decisive impetus to this mass movement. Equally large were the accessions to the two Anglican missions in Tinnevelly. In the year 1880 they reported no less than 19,000 new members, though they were considerably more cautious in administering baptism than were the Baptists in the Telugu country. Almost all the other societies in the Telugu and Tamil countries shared more or less in this mass movement,

and the results were so large that the whole numerical proportions of Indian missions were not a little disturbed.

The grand total of native Christians in 1851 was 91,092; in the following decade it had grown to 138,731 (an increase of 47,639, or 51 per cent.); by 1871 it reached 224,258 (an increase of 85,527, or 61 per cent.); in 1881 it stood at 417,372 (an increase of 193,214, or 86 per cent., and 4½ times as many as in 1851).

The increase was made up as follows:—

	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.
In the Bengal Presidency . .	14,177	20,518	46,968	83,583
Of these: Kôls alone . .	51	2,400	20,727	50,367
,, Santals alone . .	...	...	905	5,431
In the Madras Presidency . .	74,176	110,078	160,955	299,742
Of these: in Travancore and Cochin	21,179	30,607	46,285	59,959
,, in Tinnevelly .	34,908	49,964	58,167	95,624

The last-mentioned mission fields alone contributed in 1851 7/9, in 1861 8/11, and in 1871 3/5, of the entire numerical returns for this Presidency, and even in 1881 one half, or, in round numbers, 150,000 out of 300,000. Of the other half there were claimed—

By the American Baptists in Telugu Land .	52,316
By the L.M.S. in Telugu Land . . .	6,331
By the C.M.S. ,, ,, ...	5,124
By the American Lutheran Mission at Guntur	7,988
A total of	71,759,

or, with the addition of lesser Telugu missions, 77,041; that is, more than half of the 150,000 remaining, after the subtraction of the numbers for Travancore, Cochin, and Tinnevelly, were contributed by the Nellore, Cuddapah, Godavari, and Vizagapatam districts of the Telugu country. These same districts had been credited during the decade commencing 1871 with a sum total of only 15,393 Christians; they had thus increased fivefold.

4. Missions in India To-Day (from 1880)

In the winter of 1875–1876, King Edward VII. of England, at that time Prince of Wales, paid a visit to this the greatest of British possessions, in order to obtain a knowledge of it by personal acquaintance. His journey was a brilliant triumphal

procession through the country; princes and peoples vied with one another in the attempt to express their devotion with true Oriental exuberance. Although warm friends of missions like Sir Bartle Frere and Canon Duckworth were in immediate attendance upon the Prince, yet hyper-cautious Anglo-Indian statesmen saw to it that he was kept at a safe distance from contact with the native Christians. Only twice, at Tinnevelly in the south and at Amritsar in the north, did he receive an official welcome on the part of the Christians. Two years later, on January 1st, 1877, Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India. Strangely enough, it was precisely in English missionary circles that this step was greatly disapproved. Nevertheless, we cannot but recognise that it was in harmony with public opinion, because the new title was soon accepted throughout India.

It is no light matter to portray these modern days, in the midst of whose tumult we ourselves stand, with the same sureness of touch as we felt when describing the periods of missionary history now closed. Yet there are a number of striking features which force themselves upon the notice of the observer.

In the first place, there is the general remark that in the last quarter of a century Indian missions have made rapid progress, especially with regard to the number of foreigners engaged in them. The number of ordained missionaries[1] has increased from 586 in 1881 to 976 in 1900, *i.e.* an increase of 390 in a trifle less than twenty years (whereas, for example, in the two previous decades, 1861–1881, there had been only an increase of 107). In addition to this, the number of women missionaries has gone up from 479 in 1881 to 1174 in 1900; *i.e.* by 695, or 2½ times as many. An almost entirely new phase of the question is presented by the appearance of 265 male or female medical missionaries. Later on we shall consider in detail this question of *personnel*.

Those missionary societies which have already been a long time in the field have derived far and away the greatest benefit from this increase. Thus the staff of the Church Missionary Society has risen from 95 ordained and 13 lay missionaries in 1881, to 167 ordained and 43 lay missionaries (including 16 medicals) in 1904; within the last twenty-five years, therefore, the number has more than doubled. It has been further of much importance to the Church Missionary Society to have an independent auxiliary society at its side, viz. the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (in missionary parlance the C.E.Z.M.S.), which came into being in 1881. Few societies have during this period made such wonderful progress

[1] In India alone, not including Burma or Ceylon.

as this greatest of all evangelical missionary societies; but all of them have grown, and to a greater or less degree this increase has everywhere turned to the advantage of Indian missions.

Alongside the older societies there have come into the field a positively bewildering number of new missionary organisations, to such an extent that this immense multiplication of missionary effort has come to be another characteristic feature of the period under discussion. Through its commerce with all countries India has been brought nearer to the Christianity of the West; the conditions of life throughout the whole country, as regards personal safety, railway, postal and telegraphic means of communication, even in the remotest mountain villages, are comparatively so favourable for Europeans—even for single ladies—and British rule has on the whole created such remarkably tempting opportunities for missionary work, that it would be hard to find any land possessing so great an attraction for the missionary societies which have sprung up from every quarter of Anglo-Saxon Christendom like so many mushrooms. And it is right that it should be so; for historically considered it cannot be doubted that the evangelising and Christianising of India is the greatest duty of the Anglo-Saxon race, a duty for the very purpose of which that imperial gem has been entrusted to the English people. Yet we cannot help thinking that the Anglo-Saxons, with their pronounced spirit of independence, are in danger of aimlessly scattering their energies on countless toy missions instead of grappling with the mighty task in serried strength.

Amongst the missionary bodies that have come upon the scene during this period there are but few missionary societies of the old style. In our opinion the most important of these is the Schleswig-Holstein Missionary Society (1881). In 1883 its first station was founded at Salur, in the northern Telugu country; Koraput followed in 1883; and in 1884 Kotapad and Jeypore in the neighbouring protected state of Jeypore. It already numbers more than 7000 Christians and 2000 candidates for baptism. With its systematic work it is, in spite of immense climatic and linguistic difficulties, a standing example of the great success which attends wisely directed operations in India even though they are backed up by but limited funds—whilst numberless other societies possessed of as great or greater means have not yet got beyond the experimental and elementary stage.

In amongst the various Baptist societies which cluster round the entire rim of the Bay of Bengal, from Madras in the west to Rangoon and Tavoy in the east—the greatest continuous missionary field of societies to all intents and purposes identical which India has to show—there have now stepped in to work

hand in hand with the English Baptists in East Bengal a number of Baptist missionary organisations from almost every Australasian colony, all of them, unfortunately, independent one of another: in 1882, the South Australian Baptists; in 1885, the Baptists of Victoria, Queensland, New Zealand, and New South Wales; in 1887, those of Tasmania. On the other hand, the Danish American Baptists, or so-called Tunkers,[1] commenced a small cause at Gujarat, in the district of Surat and Broach.

In 1894 some young missionaries separated themselves, on dogmatic and other grounds, from the Leipzig Tamil Mission, and went to assist the Missouri Society from North America. The latter made the most of its opportunity, and established in the N.-W. Tamil country a mission of its own: Krishnagiri (1895), Ambur (1896), Vaniyambadi (1897), and Barugur (1898). The Disciples of Christ, or Campbellites, from North America, began in 1882 a new mission (Bilaspur, Mungeli, etc.), in the eastern part of the Central Provinces, close to the district served by the German Evangelical Synod. In the same neighbourhood there have settled two closely connected branches of the Mennonites, and at the same time founded several stations in Chattisghar.

A new and wholly unique feature in Indian missions is afforded by the appearance of various High Church ritualistic brotherhoods, which for the most part observe the Benedictine rule of voluntary celibacy and community of goods, and have chosen the large towns and commercial centres as their sphere of activity. The semi-Catholic order of the "Cowley Fathers," or the Society of St. John the Evangelist, had been in existence since the year 1865; in 1870 it extended its operations to India and created missionary bases in Poona and Bombay. Hand in hand with it in Bombay works the Sisterhood of All Saints, in Poona the Sisterhood of St. Mary, Wantage. In allusion to their Poona establishment they have been familiarly called "The Panch Howds Mission"! The Cambridge Mission was founded by graduates of the University of Cambridge at Delhi in the year 1877, and it has taken over and extended the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in that city—a work that had been going on since 1854. On January 6th, 1881, the Oxford Brotherhood of the Epiphany began work in Calcutta, more especially amongst those Bengali babus who had received an English training. In 1892 the Dublin University Mission was established at Hazaribagh, in Chota Nagpur, and began to work hand in hand with the small High Anglican Mission to the Kôls. In 1896, without special connection with

[1] The General Missionary Committee of the German Baptist Brethren Church (the Dunkards).

any particular University, a fifth missionary Brotherhood was founded in Cawnpore, more especially by the family of Bishop Westcott, the eminent new Testament commentator; this Brotherhood identified itself with the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as closely as that in Delhi had done, and like it eventually assumed direction of the S.P.G. work at Cawnpore—which had been commenced in 1833.

With sound of cymbals and in its customary self-advertising fashion the Salvation Army first put in an appearance in India in 1883. The Calcutta police endeavoured to put a stop to their spectacular processions; but no less a personage than Chunder Sen, the apostle of the Brahmo Samaj, made an appeal for the freedom granted to every religious community in India to exercise its religion according to its own accustomed forms, and established the point that freedom of action should be granted to the Salvation Army. "Major" Tucker was imprisoned for a month in Bombay, but there also the police were compelled to give way. The Salvation Army was thus enabled to proceed unhindered with its plan of "taking India by storm, after the Churches with their drowsy methods had well-nigh fallen asleep." It laid itself out to attract attention. Its representatives adopted the scanty dress of the Indian fakir, and often tramped barefoot and with great self-denial through the land; but they proselytised most ruthlessly amongst the already existing Christian communities and sent exaggerated accounts of their victories to the homeland. Nevertheless, in spite of many competent leaders and much devotion, they were ere long destined to find out that nothing can be accomplished in India by "zeal not according to knowledge," and that inconsiderate judgments upon, and intermeddling with other missions only result in injury to the great object upon which all eyes are set. Although they claimed to "have accomplished more as fakirs in one year than all the missionaries as sahibs had done in fifty," the number of their adherents, according to the official census returns, only reached 1138 in 1890 and 18,847 in 1901—of whom 7569 were in South India, and of the latter number only 2537 were "soldiers."

In 1887 the International Christian Alliance began its work in India, likewise with much parade. It established itself in Berar, where for the past fifteen years various unattached missionaries had laboured more or less temporarily. Many of these were enrolled in the free-and-easy organisation of the Alliance, which now promised with fifty missionaries to evangelise the whole of Berar and its three million inhabitants within five years. How little has come of it! There are, it is true, eight stations in the north of Berar, four in the west in the

adjacent district of Khandesh, and five others in Gujarat. In Bombay, the entrance gate to its domain, are its headquarters, called the Beracha Home ("Home of Blessing"). The Alliance can thus in point of fact lay claim to eighteen stations; but most of them are small, and the numerical results in 1901—after fourteen years' work—were, according to its own reports, 1308 adherents, or, according to the Missionary Census, 1700.

We have already pointed out that North Berar, with its fairly large but scattered aboriginal population, is a favourite field for unattached missionaries. It was here that the American Methodist, A. Norton, settled, first in Ellichpur, and afterwards at Baesdehi. At Basim Miss Drake laboured from 1879 onwards, attracting many other young ladies to the work, such as *e.g.* the devoted Miss Wheeler. Andrew Fuller undertook preaching tours in this neighbourhood. In connection with this sporadic pioneer work is the Kurku and Central Indian Hill Mission, constituted in London in 1890, which commenced work at Ellichpur, and in time was able to establish four other stations.

If in the two last-named organisations there is scarcely a question of any central governing authority, still less shall we find the slightest trace of such in the case of the loose conglomerate of missionaries who call themselves "Open Brethren," or simply "Christians," and who belong ecclesiastically to the "Plymouth Brethren," or the Darbyites. They occupy three principal spheres of influence and a number of isolated posts. Their oldest mission field, the Godavari delta, was occupied in 1857 at the instigation of an unattached missionary named Anthony Groves; here the two pioneers, C. H. Beer and E. S. Bowden, together with members of their families, have laboured quietly and faithfully for the whole of the past half-century. During the last ten years they have been joined by many missionaries and still more lady missionaries: their stations are Narsapur, Chittapetta, Amalapuram, Dowlaishvaram, Bandarulanka, and Tatipaka. Their second group of workers is associated with the unattached mission founded in 1872 at Jamtara (Santalia) by Cornelius, the converted barman; and here they have obtained a solid footing in Maijam, Kharmatar, Sagjuria, Kadhar, and Banka; each station is a self-contained "Christian Mission." The third and larger group of stations is situated in the south of the Mysore; it includes Collegal, Kamageri, Malvalli, Talkad, Gunjur, and we ought also to add Coimbatore, in the Tamil country, where Bird, a Darbyite gospeller, is located. Among this loose confederacy are further the "Christian Missions" of Solapuram (since 1888 at Tinne-

velly; with it is closely connected the unattached mission of the enthusiastic Tamil Arulappen at Christianpetta), Belgaum (1891), Sulga (1901), Parur (near Shoranur, 1897), and Kunnankulam (in Cochin, 1903). The Open Brethren have a joint magazine, *Echoes of the Service*, through whose instrumentality the gifts of friends of the missions are conveyed to them. Every member of their staff is a "faith" missionary; *i.e.*, apart from any private means he may have, he is dependent on the promiscuous gifts which his reports may bring in. This system generally involves great privations.

In addition to those just named, the number of actually unattached missionaries, or, as they now prefer to term themselves, "faith missionaries," is so large that to avoid confusion we must enumerate them according to provinces. In Bengal we find the "Chinsurah and Hooghly Zenana Mission" (1875), where Miss Raikes carries on her school and zenana work. At Howrah, a well-known suburb of Calcutta, a Zenana Mission was founded in 1900 by the "Weinbrennerians," or "Church of God," a sect established by J. Weinbrenner in 1830. In Ranaghat, the district adjacent to the Church Missionary Society's centre at Krishnagar, a splendid medical mission was started in 1893 by Jas. Monro, a former chief of the London police; this is for the most part worked by members and friends of his family at their own charges. This independent mission was affiliated to the Church Missionary Society on January 1st, 1906. In 1899 an "Indian Baptist Missionary Society" was founded in Bengal, which laboured in Eastern Bengal and the United Provinces by means of native helpers. On the northern frontier of Bengal the Tibetan Pioneer Mission, practically carried on by Miss Annie Taylor, for she has been deserted by almost all her colleagues, is busily seeking to force an entrance into Tibet. Not far away, at Ghoom, near Darjeeling, the "Himalayan Branch of the American and Scandinavian Alliance" has located itself (1895) and carries on evangelistic work among Tibetans and Gurkhas. Darjeeling is the headquarters of the "Nepal Mission" of Mr. and Mrs. Innes Wright, who are seeking to find an entrance to the still closed mountain districts of Nepal. At Jamalpore in Bengal lives the secretary of the "Indian Railway Mission" (1898), which works among railway officials and employees, though rather among Europeans and Eurasians than among the Hindus. In the western division of Bengal, Bihar, the "Regions Beyond Mission," founded in 1899 by Dr. Grattan Guinness of London, has located itself at Motihari. At Saripat Purunia (not to be confused with *Purulia*), in the Bankura district of Bengal, several unattached missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Zook, Mr. and Mrs. Martin, Mr. and Mrs.

Sparrow, have founded the "Premananda Faith Orphanage," and seven miles farther west they have opened at Raghunathpur, in the Manbhum district, the "Hephzibah Evangelistic Mission" (1902). They are connected with the "American Brethren in Christ." In the low-lying plain of Eastern Bengal the "Bengal Evangelical Mission" has been at work since 1874 at Gopalganj; this was founded by the converted Bengali, Mathura Nath Bose, and since his death in 1901 has been carried on by other native workers. In Assam there originated in 1891 the "Assam Frontier Pioneer Mission," which carries on work among the Abors, a mountain tribe, among whom at Sadija the two unattached missionaries, Lorrain and Savage, both originally sent out by Mr. Arthington, took up their quarters. From 1889 R. Arthington carried on a mission in the same neighbourhood at his own cost amongst another of the hill tribes, through a number of missionaries whom he had sent out. At the death of this generous man (1900) the English Baptist Missionary Society united these scattered mission posts under the name of the "Arthington Missions."

In the Tamil country the American Adventists located themselves in 1882 at Madras, alongside the multiple missionary organisations already at work in that city. Also at Madras we find the "South Indian Railway Mission," which seeks to spread the gospel by distributing books and tracts in the trains which are ever crowded with Tamils. At Panruti, near Cuddalore, the "South Arcot Highways and Hedges Mission" of Miss F. M. Reade has been in existence since 1875. In the west Tamil country the "Ceylon and Indian General Mission," founded in 1894, carries on work at Coimbatore, Coonoor, Bangalore, and other places, both amongst the very numerous Eurasians and the Hindus. At Ootacamund, on the Nilgiri Hills, the former Danish missionary, Koefoed, has maintained an independent work since 1892. In the same neighbourhood a Mr. J. A. Samuel, probably a converted Tamil or a Eurasian, has founded a "Nilgiri Evangelistic Mission" (1894) to evangelise the Nilgiri hill tribes or the Tamil coolies. At Travancore a Mr. Gregson has laboured since the year 1900, and has had no inconsiderable success (*Echoes of Service*, 1903, p. 67).

In Berar and the adjoining Central Provinces the following bodies are at work, in addition to those that have been already mentioned: The "Pentecostal Mission," since 1898 at Buldana (Berar); the "American Mennonites," also since 1898 at Dhamtari (Central Provinces); and the "Balaghat Mission," since 1894 at Baihair, in the Balaghat District (Central Provinces). In Poona and the neighbourhood, the "Poona and India Village Mission," founded by a New Zealander, Mr. Reeve, in 1893, is most busily

engaged; in 1901 this mission employed eighteen evangelists and twelve women missionaries, mostly from Australia, and carried on extensive itinerant preaching. In Bombay, Poona, and the neighbouring Khedgaon the Brahman widow, Pandita Ramabai, has since 1899 carried on her richly blessed work amongst the widows of India, especially those of the higher classes, In 1903 two unattached English missionaries, Storries and De Carteret, began a mission at Chandgad, 24 miles from Belgaum.

In the province of Gujarat, working hand in hand with the Irish Presbyterians, we find the "Jungle Tribes Mission" (1890), likewise supported by Irish subscriptions. In Bombay there has existed since 1894 an independent "Native Mission." In North India there is the "North India School of Medicine for Christian Women" at Ludhiana, in the Punjab. In the hot jungles near Multan, Major-General Montague Millet, an officer on the retired list, conducted an unattached mission from 1887 to 1901 at his own expense—mostly at Kacha Khuh. He was a truly devoted man, but was undoubtedly one of those men who are destined to work alone. He sent out multitudes of missives, both big and little, through the post, held Bible-readings, ran a small hospital, and engaged in many similar undertakings. In like fashion the Hon. M. Waldegrave carried on mission work at Peshawar, partly in connection with the Church Missionary Society. At Bharatpur, the capital of a former important Rajput state lying to the west of Agra, a Miss Fowler superintends an independent mission. At Allahabad, an Indian Christian lady, Miss Shorat Chakarbutty, who is by the way an Indian M.A., founded in 1895 the "Victoria Girls' Home" for famine orphans, and in order to support this a missionary association, "The Association of the Daughters of India." On the slopes of the Himalayas at Almora and Kalimali, in the United Provinces, the "Christian Realm Mission" has been occupied in the evangelisation of the people since 1897, though for the time being its sole directorate consists of one European lay agent, an Indian clergyman, and thirty-four native helpers.

This register of unattached missionaries and organisations is incomplete. Many of these missions are only mentioned occasionally in the press, others not at all. Many cease to exist at the death of their founder, through lack of support, or for other reasons; and as in many cases their results are such as cannot be tabulated, it must not be deemed too great a lack in a history of Indian Missions if all the flowers which bloom in hidden places to the glory of the Lord are not here classified and tabulated. On the whole question we are unfortunately compelled to adopt the verdict of a deputation

sent by the American Board, which certainly at the outset was anything but unsympathetic towards unattached missionary work: "We must express our conviction, based upon what we have seen, that the so-called 'independent missions' spend a great deal of money to no purpose, and in the majority of cases meet with but little success, even if they do not directly hinder the progress of the kingdom of God."

There still remain two important groups of organisations for the sending out of missionaries, concerning both of which unfortunately information is likewise faulty. The first is that of the Diocesan Boards of the Anglican bishoprics, whereof more anon. In the second place, all the missionary societies that have already met with considerable success, in the shape of a consolidated Christian community, endeavour to impress upon these communities the sacred duty of bringing the Good News to the knowledge of their fellow-countrymen. A number of these Indian Christian Churches have for this purpose established more or less self-supporting missionary agencies of their own. For the present almost all such associations should be regarded rather as signs of life on the part of such Churches than as being important because of their missionary results; they may therefore be left to the special missionary history of individual districts.

In any case, the missionary organisation of India has become so complicated through this bewildering multiplicity of missionary enterprises that even an expert can no longer gain a complete grasp of the whole subject, nor can we hope in this History to give anything like an exhaustive account thereof![1]

Certain it is that the number of agencies working in India is rapidly on the increase. The Missionary Census of 1851 recorded nineteen missionary societies and eleven unattached missionaries; that of 1861, twenty-three societies and eight unattached missionaries; in 1871 there were twenty-eight societies and nine unattached missionaries; in 1881, thirty-eight and four; in 1891, forty-four and nine; and in 1901, seventy-three societies and a vast number of missionaries unconnected with any particular organisation.

This being so, it is all the more necessary for those missionary societies which work side by side to have due regard for one another, and mutually to respect one another's frontiers and communities. This is the more important because the practice of the various societies is widely different not only with regard to baptism and church discipline, but also in almost

[1] We shall be grateful to readers of these pages for any reliable information *re* other unattached missions or independent workers.

every question of missionary and ecclesiastical polity. The unhappily only too frequent breaches of missionary comity compose one of the dark chapters of Indian missionary history. Yet such incidents are unfortunately all too frequent, as every one intimately connected with the respective divisions of territory on the mission field is well aware. Historic boundaries have been ignored, local feeling has been ruthlessly set aside, and flagrant inroads have been made upon the domains of other societies.

Such conduct is to us incapable of explanation. It is possible that certain sections of the missionary army of Christ in India regard themselves as *the* sole Divinely commissioned and competent societies at work there. But what can we think of claims of this nature when we see such societies baptizing without the slightest hesitation groups of candidates for baptism belonging to other missions, and locating themselves in the very centre of districts which have been diligently worked by other agencies for many years past? What charity is here? What kindness? What brotherly love?

It is scandalous that one society should entice away the catechists of another, perhaps by a promise of a higher salary or quicker promotion, or that it should receive and appoint to office native Christians or catechists who are for the time being under the church discipline of another society. Yet even so late as the Bombay Missionary Conference of 1892 it was found to be impossible to secure united action against such disorders or to find a remedy for them. The most that could be done was to pass a resolution to the effect that no society should henceforth accept members or officials from any other missionary society without first communicating with the headquarters of the society in question. The Madras Conference of 1902, however, went a good bit farther than this. Subject to certain reservations and limitations, it affirmed the principle of territorial division in missionary work, and appointed a Court of Arbitration, upon which was conferred power to intervene in all cases where one society should make inroads in the special sphere of another. This Court of Arbitration has already proved itself to be of wholesome value on several occasions. For example, the Weinbrennerians (the Church of God) wished to occupy the State of Jashpur in Chota Nagpur, lying to the west of Biru; Gossner's missionaries, however, affirmed that they had a prior claim to it, as this State was within their own sphere of influence — and the Court of Arbitration supported their claim.

Missionary conferences too, especially the General Conference for the whole of India, Burma, and Ceylon, became of

much greater importance under these new conditions. They have been held in Calcutta in 1882, Bombay in 1892, and Madras in 1902. In the last-named city an important South India Conference met in 1900.

There is also another aspect in which during the last quarter of a century the organisation of Indian missions has become incomparably more complicated than before, namely in the manifold diversity of the work now carried on. Down to 1830 there was only one universally recognised branch of work carried on in one form or another by every missionary—the proclamation of the gospel by means of the preached or written word. Since Dr. Duff's powerful personality appeared on the scene in 1830, a second branch of activity has gradually and after much difficulty won for itself a recognised position in missionary work, namely educational work. After the Mutiny in 1857 women missionaries made their appearance, at first timidly, but after 1880 in great numbers, and with great multiplicity of gifts; by zenana work, girls' schools, and women's hospitals, they have opened up new paths. In the last twenty-five years three further branches have come to be almost generally recognised: medical missions, industrial missions, and homes and boarding schools for famine orphans. No one of these branches is new, but as to how and why they have recently pushed their way into the foreground of the work, information will be given later.

This complexity is connected, at any rate in part, with three movements which have especially characterised Indian missionary work in our own day. Just as the characteristic feature of the previous quarter of a century had been to attempt on all hands to come into contact with the aborigines in their mountain and forest fastnesses, so to an even greater extent has a distinguishing feature of this last decade been an effort to reach the very lowest classes of the people, the lowest castes and the outcastes, or, as they are nowadays styled, the Panchamas (the fifth order). According to the old Indian conception as set forth in the laws of Manu, Indian society is divisible into four orders: Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Sudras. A new name, coined by the Government but willingly taken up by the missionaries, helps to differentiate yet a fifth order. Formerly it was the custom to label the classes comprising this order "Pariah," but this word was far from being a suitable one; for it only really belongs to a distinct caste-group in the Tamil country, and even in the various parts of that wide area it connotes very different social and civil conditions, varying from a state of servile bondage to that of a modest peasantry living on its own freehold property. "Pariah"

is a term not found in the other languages or among the other peoples of India.

It is therefore desirable that this new and less invidious term should be universally adopted. For the theory which used to be held, that these Panchamas are ethnographically and philologically different from both the higher castes among which they live and from the aborigines of the neighbouring hill country, has been proved to be erroneous. Progressive ethnological research has rather demonstrated that the so-called Dravidian peoples were in the very earliest times split up into numerous clans relatively independent of one another. Certain of these clans early submitted to the onward rush of Aryan civilisation, and by means of a broader intellectual life were uplifted both socially and economically. Other clans resisted the new stream of alien culture for centuries, but being eventually unable to oppose the overwhelming advance of Hinduism, have become the lower stratum, the bonded serfs of Hindu society. The so-called aborigines of the present day are the last remnants of those who have longest withstood this progressive Hinduisation of the country. The lot which lies before them when they become part and parcel of Hinduism is indeed a sad one. From its world of higher culture, from contact with its upper castes, with its idols, its temples, its literature, they are debarred; not the least effort is made to uplift them in any single direction; rather are they in every way victimised and exploited; and in their feeble religious thought world they remain, for the most part true to the barren, hopeless devil-worship of their ancestors, save only that as their position in life has been less favourable and their opportunities less numerous, so have their devils become the more mischievous and their devil-worship the more horrible.

From the first, missions have gained a not inconsiderable number of their converts from among the Panchamas. Both in the orphanages of North India and in the native churches of the Tamil country and the Malayalam country they have always composed a fairly numerous though unascertainable percentage of the whole number of adherents. Yet the main attack of missions has not been directed against them, but rather against the middle and higher classes. The Panchamas have simply not been rejected when they have happened to come into contact with Christian missions and have been attracted to them. And on the whole the Panchamas have not formed any very large part of the Protestant Christian community. According to tradition, three-quarters of the Christians in the congregations of the old Danish Mission were Sudras. In the mass movements, in Tinnevelly and in connection with the London Missionary Society in South

Travancore, those who were added to the Church were almost exclusively Shanans, *i.e.* lower Sudras, who would have regarded it as an insult to be reckoned as Panchamas. Of the 252 church members in full communion belonging to the Maratha Mission of the American Board in 1854, 43 belonged to the highest castes, and 15 were converted Brahmans (Anderson's *History of India*, p. 251). Also of the 91,000 native Christians in 1851, almost two-thirds were Sudras. In the subsequent quarter of a century there was a great influx of aborigines, but nowhere was any considerable number of Panchamas recorded. Since the great famine of 1876–1879, however, things have been different. It was at that time that the great mass movement of the Mala and Madiga castes in the Telugu country occurred. They really made it evident to the missionary societies for the first time what harvests might be garnered in from amongst these hitherto almost neglected classes. And just as twenty-five years earlier the movement in Chota Nagpur had been a trumpet-call to the entire Indian missionary world, so now was this streaming in of the Malas and Madigas. It was felt that a new era imposed a new responsibility upon the various missions. The Panchamas, downtrodden by the higher castes and by Hindus as much as by Muhammadans, began to dimly realise that Protestant missions were stretching out a hand to save them from their misery. They saw that those castes which joined the missionaries had their hungry fed, their sick healed, their children taught, their young men lucratively employed either in the service of missions or in that of the Government, and that an increasing number of men and women of their own standing were working their way up to positions which had been wholly inaccessible to their fathers. Was it then such a wonderful thing that, as far as they were capable of independent thought and decision amid the dull barrenness of their enslaved existence, they should conceive the idea of joining the Christian Church, and that not in ones or twos, but in whole masses? But an equally serious decision had to be made by the missionary societies. Hitherto they had considered it their duty simply to preach the gospel to India, and to preach it in such a forceful and comprehensible fashion as to bring about crises in the national life. For such crises they had waited and hoped and prayed. Suddenly they heard knocking at their doors a vast multitude of poor miserable mendicants imploring help, whose intellectual capacity was so imperfectly developed that the truth of the gospel must be preached to them in the very simplest way. Those at the head of missionary work in the country said amongst themselves that to respond to these masses of people would involve an educational undertaking of the first magnitude.

Such hosts of mankind would be a disgrace to Christianity, if it could not uplift them in every way, spiritually, morally, intellectually, socially and economically, and that despite all the obstacles which the higher castes would naturally place in the upward path of their quondam slaves; despite all the hindrances resulting from the depravity and degradation of past ages, their weak moral character, the beggarliness and brutishness of the new converts; despite too all the dangers which the elevation of lower classes of a people always entails, for the individual as well as for the community. It is easy to realise that missionaries faced this mass of fresh responsibility with a varying degree of comprehension, systematised method, and energy. In our opinion, the societies which entered upon it most heartily were the American Baptists in the Telugu country, the Methodist Episcopals in the United Provinces, and the American Congregationalists (A.B.) in the Ahmadnagar district. But no society held entirely aloof from this difficult and often thankless task, not even the Free Church of Scotland, whose gifts and history had pointed so expressly in the direction of work amongst the highest classes of the people. We can safely reckon that apart from the missions to aborigines—who indeed are nearly related to them—a good four-fifths of the entire success of missionary work during the last twenty-five years has been realised amongst the Panchamas. In the Madras Presidency the total number of native Christians has increased as follows:—1851, 74,176; 1861, 110,078 (an increase of 35,905); 1871, 160,955 (an increase of 50,877); then came the years of the great famine 1876–1878; 1881, 299,742 (an increase of 138,787); 1890, 365,912 (an increase of 66,170); 1900, 506,019 (an increase of 140,107). To appreciate these statistics aright we should consider them alongside those of the Telugu missions, whose increase was almost exclusively made up of Malas and Madigas.

	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.	1890.	1900.
American Baptists	10	23	6,418	53,216	96,450	153,440 (?)[1]
American Lutheran General Synod	164	338	2,149	7,988	13,566	20,486
American Lutheran General Council	10	29	320	707	1,360	5,000 (about)
C.M.S. Telugu Mission	111	259	1,082	5,124	6,034	13,103
L.M.S. Telugu Mission	110	1,250	2,793	6,331	6,791	9,284
	405	1,899	13,562	73,366	111,191	201,213

Thus, of the entire increase in the Presidency between 1871 and 1881 (138,787), some 60,000, and in the last decade (1890–1900,

[1] The Annual Report for that year (1900) only gives 130,000.

140,107) some 90,022, are to be traced to these five missions amongst the Malas and Madigas, which are situated close together in a relatively small district of the vast Presidency of Madras; that is, in the first of these three decades they numbered more than a fifth, in the second more than a half, and in the third more than three-fifths of the whole increase within the Presidency. In the Tamil missions it is universally admitted even by the Leipzig missionaries and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, both of which have comparatively large churches of Sudras in the very heart of the Tamil country, that the increase during the last quarter of a century has been almost wholly drawn from amongst the Panchamas. And most illuminating of all is the fact that the increase in the two Tinnevelly missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which are predominantly Sudra missions, has come to a standstill since the great increase during the famine years 1878–1879; in 1881 they numbered together 95,624; in 1890, 93,302; in 1900, 86,760; and according to the Annual Reports of 1904 and 1905, 77,317—a disheartening fact. If we proceed to North India, the same thing is most clearly illustrated in the United Provinces by a comparison of the figures for the whole province with those of the Episcopal Methodists (M.E.), who work almost entirely amongst the Panchamas.

	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.	1890.	1900.
Native Christians in the United Provinces	1,732	3,982	7,779	12,709	30,321	108,990
Of this number, the Meth. Episcopalians had . . .	...	297	1,748	5,416	22,607	96,385
i.e. of the total results .	...	7%	22%	43%	74%	88%

This is the second characteristic feature of the last quarter of a century, that the work of missions has been predominantly amongst the Panchamas. The third has been engraven as with hot iron by the awful distress of this last decade—the frightful famines of 1896–1897 and 1900 and the plague which has raged in India since 1896. The great famine of 1876–1879, which is still remembered, had revealed how deeply the famines which visit India periodically influence every phase of life, and, above all, missionary labour. It was therefore terrible news when, owing to the continued delay of the monsoon rains upon which far and away the greater part of the agriculture of India almost entirely depends, the advent of a great drought and famine was announced in 1896. An area of 228,000 square miles, with a population of 80 millions, was affected (England and Wales have an area of 58,000 square miles with 32½ million

inhabitants). Since the great famine of 1876 the Government had had nearly twenty years' breathing space in which to prepare for similar calamities, and had made the best use of its opportunity. The only fairly reliable protection against famine lies in providing regular irrigation of the country from its inexhaustible water supplies. Every year untold masses of water, unused and often even harmful, are carried down the mighty Indian rivers to the sea. The first task to be attempted, therefore, was to bind these unwieldy giants and to force them to serve the industrious sons of the soil in peaceful and well-regulated canal systems. Even in the days of the Moghul dominion the broad level Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna had been thus fertilised by means of canals. The English have taken in hand one river system after another—the broad waste delta districts of the Godavari and Kistna, the scarcely smaller deltas of the Mahanadi and Brahmani, the watershed of the Periyar to the south of the Western Ghats. Their greatest achievement has been during the last decade, when they have laid down canals across great tracts of the Punjab. In the Doab between the Chenab and the Ravi, the canalised district (called variously the Rechna Doab or Jhang Bar, or more recently the Chenab Colony) embraces an area of 2000 square miles and extends from near Wazirabad in the north to the neighbourhood of Multan. The centre of the colony is Lyallpur; from thence the traveller can now traverse hundreds of miles of waving cornfields, where formerly there existed nothing but barrenness and desolation, and the newly founded town of Gojra has become one of the principal wheat marts of the country. One million seven hundred thousand acres of wild and waste land have thus been brought under cultivation. A second and less extensive canal system, but yet one which embraces more than 1420 square miles, was opened to traffic in October 1901; this was the Jhelum Colony, between the Jhelum and the Chenab, having as its central town Sargoda. Even in 1896 14,000 miles of artificially constructed irrigation canals were said to be in existence. Since that time their length has probably more than doubled.

The Indian Government had prepared itself in other ways for the famine. The whole of India had been divided into a great number of "blocks," for the ample connection of which the construction of high roads was undertaken. A number of lines of railway were constructed solely with the object of opening up districts difficult of access. When at last, however, gaunt famine did actually stride through the land, it was found that all these preparatory measures were insufficient to cope with the immeasurable distress.

To make matters still worse, since the autumn of 1896 the land has been afflicted with relentless severity by bubonic plague, the "black death" of the Middle Ages, carried to India in the first place from Hong Kong. Beginning at Bombay, the plague on the one hand took firm root in certain commercial centres like Poona, Patna, Hubli, etc., where it burst forth with renewed vigour again and again; and on the other hand it spread slowly but surely from taluq to taluq, from province to province, until at last one could almost foretell the month in which it would arrive in a given neighbourhood; then again it would spread in a sporadic and altogether unaccountable fashion, turning up most unexpectedly now at one place, now at another very far distant one, spreading fear and havoc wherever it went, and driving the well-nigh distracted populace hither and thither like the leaves before a hurricane. According to official statistics, which must be far below the mark on account of the Hindu dread of notification and its attendant evils of house-to-house investigation, disinfection, etc., there died of the plague in 1898, 118,000; 1899, 135,000; 1900, 193,000; 1901, 274,000; 1902, 577,000. In March 1903 there died of it in one week (5th–11th) 45,541 persons; for the whole year 1903, 853,000; 1904, 1,040,000; January 1st to February 18th, 1905, 223,690; since the outbreak of the plague in 1896, 3,352,109. Especially did it seem to glut its rage in the Bombay and Poona districts and in the Punjab. In the last-named province there died in February 1902 no less than 29,992 persons; at Gujranwala the weekly total of deaths was for many months 1000; in the Ludhiana district, 2900; in the Sialkot district 30,000 men died in 1902 alone, and the plague is at the present stronger than ever, and there is still little hope of its being stamped out. It generally sets in with undiminished severity in February and March each year. It could not but be expected that such a devastating scourge would stir the very hearts of the people. Rumours of every kind concerning the origin and purpose of the plague began to circulate. First, it was the missionaries who had strewn a poison powder in all the springs and wells in order to kill all who were not Christians; now it was the English Queen or Viceroy who had ordered a general poisoning of the people of India. On the other hand, many were inclined to see in the plague a judgment of God on the sins of the people, and in the comparative freedom from it enjoyed by Christians (natives as well as English) a gracious providence of God, a victory for Christ.

At first the Government attempted to set bounds to the disease by instituting preventive measures of the broadest character. Strict quarantine was established both at ports and

on the railways. Any one desiring to leave the plague area had to obtain a medical certificate concerning the actual state of his health. In every house where a case occurred, the other members of the family were forced to enter the isolation camps, which quickly sprang up in all directions, and remain there ten days under observation; all infected underclothing, upper garments and beds were burnt, and infected suburbs or quarters of the large towns were pulled down or set on fire. These strong measures were well meant, but they had such evil results that people lost confidence in them. The natives rebelled against these attacks on the sanctuary of their homes and families; popular insurrections broke out; English officials charged with the carrying out of these laws were laid hands upon, and even murdered. And the artful Hindus found so many ways of evading the most stringent regulations, of concealing cases of plague, of removing patients suffering from the plague, that it became evident that in this way the evil could never be suppressed. Comparatively speaking, the best expedient discovered has been the inoculation treatment perfected by an Austrian physician, Dr. Haffkine; those who underwent this treatment were practically immune from the plague at any rate for several months, or if they did contract it, it was only in a mild form. The better educated classes, and above all, the native Christians, at the instigation of the missionaries, submitted to the treatment by inoculation, and it is to this circumstance that the practical exemption of Christians from the plague is to be attributed.

Missionary work was hindered by the plague in many ways. Bazaar preaching and evangelistic tours had to be given up, many of the zenanas were closed, the populations of whole towns and villages were dispersed. But there was plenty of work for the missionaries to do in the care of the sick and the burial of the dead. Just as at this time of need the hardheartedness and pitilessness of heathendom were seen as never before, so much the more clearly against such a dark background did the fair picture shine out of a large number of doctors and nurses who, courageous in the presence of death, performed their devoted ministries of comfort in the midst of a dying people. One lady missionary, Mrs. Gilder, succumbed whilst engaged in this work.

The great famine of 1897 was followed in 1900 by a second, which affected an even greater area and was still more terrible than its predecessor, a famine which was in fact equal to the very worst recorded on the tear-stained pages of India's history. Whereas the famine of 1897 had affected an area of some 228,000 square miles and a population of eighty millions, that

in 1900 extended over more than 240,000 square miles and sixty-one million persons were added to those who suffered. At the height of the distress the Government reports state that forty-nine millions of the population were absolutely starving, and one and a quarter millions perished either from pure starvation or from hunger typhus.[1] Two circumstances contributed to make the distress this time insupportable. In the first place, all the energy and attention of England were engaged in the war with the South African Republics, which was just then at its most critical stage. Nevertheless, the Indian Treasury expended £750,000 in alleviating the misery of the people, and five million individuals were either employed in relief works or fed free of cost. Moreover, it was not a case this time of the failure of the monsoon for one year. The land had not yet recovered from the drought of 1897, and the rainfall for 1899 had been irregular and slight; also during 1901 and the first half of 1902 there was no rain in certain very large areas; so that it was now a question of soil, which for five, and in many cases for seven years had been devoid of rain, and which was by this time completely parched.

Only in the second half of the year 1902 did plenteous showers of rain fall in the greater part of the districts concerned, and bring the real period of distress to an end. One very bad feature of these famines is that even a number of good harvests do not remove the traces of such misery; numberless small proprietors and farmers fall into the hands of the usurers during the period of dearth, and for years they wrestle in vain to get out of their clutches; the moneylenders insist in carrying off the crops from the fields, to cover the interest on their loans. Hundreds of thousands are dispersed up and down in the country districts or have migrated to a distance, and their villages remain desolate and in ruins. A still greater number, owing to abstention from food or insufficient quantities of it, are so undermined in health that they pine away and fall an easy prey to the plague.

That in the train of the famine cholera would devastate the land was unfortunately only to be expected. Especially great were its ravages in the Telugu country and in the highlands of Rajputana and Kashmir; two missionaries belonging to the Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society in Jaipur, Messrs. Timm and Kuhlmann, and one to the Church Missionary Society's work amongst the Bhils, Thompson, were carried off by it. Even more lamented was the death (also of cholera, on September 1st, 1901) of Miss Isabella Thoburn, the

[1] The Methodist Episcopal Report in 1900 records one million cases of death in Rajputana alone (Elders' Report, p. 25).

highly gifted founder and for many years principal of the Women's College at Lucknow.

All the missionary societies have worked at high pressure during the years of the famine, and as energetic friends continually kept their hands full of gifts they were able to keep tens of thousands from perishing by means of soup-kitchens, road-making, chapel-building, by improvised industries and many other expedients of ever inventive love. The Church Missionary Society expended £12,000, Robert Arthington £9000, the American Lutherans £4700, and so on. The tireless and energetic editor of the New York *Christian Herald*, a German, Dr. Klopsch, gained for himself honourable distinction by collecting from his readers £62,500, and then freighting a ship with rice and other grain, and with these stores sailing to India, where he was able personally to superintend their distribution. The Anglo-Indian Government recognised the able and self-sacrificing aid rendered by the missionaries. Quite a number of missionaries were decorated with the newly created Order for public service rendered to India, the Kaisar-i-Hind Order. Dr. A. Neve, a C.M.S. medical missionary at Srinagar, and Dr. R. A. Hume of Ahmadnagar (American Board), received the gold medal of the Order in 1900, whilst the venerable Julius Lohr of Bisrampur (American Evang. Synod), and other missionaries, both male and female, received the silver medal.[1]

The greatest interest was taken on the part of the missionary societies in the gathering in of the helpless widows and orphans. Such orphanages as had been built during former famines were crowded to the very last place, and new ones sprang up like mushrooms. During the two famines of 1896–1897 and 1900 evangelical missions have provided for 24,360 children, widows and orphans in this way. (Mr. Pegg, an agent of the Church Missionary Society, even reckons that there must have been 30,000.) Particularly numerous among these newly founded orphanages are the so-called "Faith Orphanages," *i.e.* homes for which no missionary society in the homeland has undertaken financial responsibility, and which have been established by energetic missionaries, both male and female, on their own responsibility, and on the strength of faith in God and in the help of Christian friends. By far the most important and most interesting of these institutions is that of Pandita Ramabai, at Mukti, near Khedgaon, in the Maratha country, in which

[1] As these distinctions are highly prized in India, and are looked upon as a public recognition of missionary work, we may here add the names of the other Protestant missionaries who have been decorated with the gold medal: Dr. Abbott, of the American Board, Bombay; Dr. John Murdoch, originator of the "Christian Missionary Society" of Madras; Graham, founder of the "St. Andrews' Colonial Homes" at Kalimpong; and Ferdinand Hahn, of Gossner's Mission.

about [illegible] helpless widows have found a Christian home. A similar widows' and orphans' village was founded by a Mr. and Mrs. Lawson (Episcopal Methodist missionaries) at Aligarh in the United Provinces; they took 1300 widows and orphans under their care. Mr. and Mrs. Lee of Calcutta (also Episcopal Methodist missionaries) likewise founded an orphanage for boys and girls which took in 280 children; in connection with this institution a missionary union has sprung into being, the Industrial Evangelistic Mission, having its headquarters in London. The unattached missionary Norton, who has already been mentioned several times, settled in Dhond, near Khedgaon, and established a boys' orphanage with accommodation for 4000 children. Dr. Klopsch, the editor, undertook to support 5000 orphans for five years. Nor were the missionary societies idle. In Ahmadnagar, a western district of the Maratha country, which had been especially ravaged by the famine, the American Board took in over 2845 orphans; it distributed seed rice to 24,665 small farmers, and assisted 1514 others to obtain new oxen to plough their land.

In former great famines one of the results has generally been that vast numbers have clamoured at the doors of the Christian Church for admittance and that the number of baptisms has increased rapidly; but in connection with the last two famines there are no such mass movements to record, or at any rate, only to a comparatively small extent. A very few missions, such as those of the Episcopal Methodists in the United Provinces and in Gujarat, have baptized large numbers of converts. On the other hand, there has been an understanding among the missionaries to admit as few candidates as possible for baptism whilst the famine lasted, and as far as may be none from amongst those in receipt of aid of any kind from the different societies. This has been done to avoid even the appearance of making "Rice Christians." In the Telugu country the Mala and Madiga movement almost came to a standstill during these years of distress—only to move forward with greater momentum at the close of that period. Even the Pariah movement in South India appears to have become stationary since the last famine. Without doubt, however, the great increase in the results of missions from 559,661 native Christians in 1890 to 854,867 in the year 1900 (or say 295,201 within a single decade) is to be associated with the after effects of the help which had been so devotedly rendered during the stress of plague and famine.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS OF INDIAN MISSIONS

1. Animistic Religions

After thus briefly portraying the development of Indian missions, let us turn our attention from their external circumstances to the inner and secret forces which have influenced this development, partly assisting and partly retarding it. The great problem of missionary work is, How can Christianity overcome and supplant native forms of religion? On closer examination this simple problem resolves itself for India into three main questions: (1) the problem of the popular religions; (2) the caste problem; (3) the problem of Indian pantheism. We shall begin by rapidly sketching a few of the forces which have furthered missionary progress; we can do so the more succinctly because the account given in the previous chapter has already shown us these different forces at work.

(*a*) Whilst the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had been passed in well-nigh interminable wars, whether between the peoples of India or between the rival European powers, the establishment of British rule brought the whole country, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, an almost universal peace, the *Pax Britannica.* Wars now occurred only on the frontiers and for the most part only to prepare the way for the further extension of territory,—though of course, in so doing, new doors for missionary enterprise were opened. They did not disturb or destroy missionary work, on the contrary they rather stimulated it to further achievement; thus it was with the Maratha wars in the first decades of the century, the war in the Punjab about the middle of the century, and the wars of 1824 and 1886 in Burma. The year of terror during the great Mutiny of 1857-1858 only causes the long era of peace both before and after to stand out in so much bolder relief.

(*b*) Since the overthrow of the shortsighted policy of the East India Company British rule has, as a matter of fact, meant an open door for Christianity. It is true that during the hot political strife in England after the Mutiny the sup-

porters of foreign missions did not succeed in inducing the Indian Government to look with greater favour on missions, nor in bringing about an era of even judiciously limited official protection for them; but the policy of strong neutrality in religious affairs, candidly expressed as it was and ever more consistently executed, was really all that missions required. When the Government had severed official connection with heathenism, with its temples and its idolatry, and when, dating from the days of the far-seeing and benevolent Lord William Bentinck (1828–1835),—especially through the instrumentality of that gifted historian, Macaulay, and of the great jurist, Sir Henry Maine,—the Indian administration of justice, and especially Indian criminal law, had been revised in accordance with Western principles of jurisprudence (1837–1861), there remained, at any rate in those regions that were directly under English rule, scarcely anything to be desired with regard to the attitude of the Government towards missionary work.

(*c*) The British Raj was seen to be most potent in opening up the country by means of roads, railways, and canals, and in installing swifter and safer means of communication with Europe, especially with England. This English policy of free communication can only be characterised as perfect. It has not only considerably facilitated the connection of the missionary societies with their far-distant headquarters, but has also prepared a way for them in the interior of the country, even in the remotest districts, and lightened the toil of travelling. To see this clearly one has only to think of the shelters erected for travellers along every line of communication, the Dak Bungalows for Europeans, and the Sattirams for the natives.

(*d*) Hand in hand with this general opening up of the country for purposes of traffic, and very much more so since the reform of the Indian school system under Dr. Duff and Lord William Bentinck (1830–1835), there has come the intellectual development of the Indian people (through the British educational policy). Although considerable deviations may seem to have been made from that policy as originally laid down, and although it has not been by any means entirely acceptable to missionaries, yet on the whole it is this same educational policy which has proved the way by which missions have penetrated into the very heart of Indian society, and the means whereby an influence has been won which could otherwise have been attained only with the greatest difficulty.

(*e*) This intellectual opening up of India is of special moment because it has aroused the peoples of India from the "waking slumber" into which all departments of their intellectual life

had fallen for many centuries. Whereas at the commencement of the nineteenth century almost every branch of mental culture in India—the dialects of the people, Sanskrit research, architecture, literature, etc.—was in a state of neglect, of desolation and of decay, contact with the youthfully buoyant and energetic civilisation of the West has imparted to each of them no slight amount of impetus. Above all, it has forced Indian thought and civilisation to enter into a thorough examination and analysis of itself, when placed in contrast with the civilisation of the ruling race—a civilisation out of the West which is the product of Christianity. And in this great intellectual task the question of Christianity is continually vindicating its right to serious consideration.

Yet these and similar forces are only valuable in that they have served as a preparation for missionary work; the actual task of the missionary, which must ever be the overthrow of the religions of heathenism, is in no wise aided by them. The first question we are compelled to take up is: "What has been up to the present the attitude of the Indian religions towards Christianity, and what prospects are there of their ultimate overthrow?" We have not the intention, any more than we had above (p. 17 *et seq.*), of giving here a connected account of the manifold and Protean network of the Indian religions, either from the point of view of their historical development, or from that of the form in which we to-day find them; such an attempt would carry us far beyond the limits of our theme. Let us rather consider, as the biologist a number of transverse sections, what are the tasks which have been and are presented to the missionary by the various strata of Hinduism. Let us first confine our attention to Hinduism in the narrower sense, *i.e.* simply as the popular religion.

Modern Hinduism presents itself to us as a highly complicated geological section at the base of which we find the most elementary religious forms of brutal fetishism and barren animism, but at the summit a sublime religious philosophy revelling in transcendental speculation. The separate strata offer mission work a most varied objective, and place before it tasks of diverse character. In the lower grades we find a broad stratum of tribal religions, for the most part of a popular nature, which we may sum up in a phrase (though this is none too clear or precise) as "animistic forms of religion." What is thereby meant is tersely explained by Sir H. Risley, *Census Report* 1901, i. § 627, p. 356): "Animism in India conceives of man as passing through life surrounded by a ghostly company of powers, elements, tendencies,— mostly impersonal in their character,—shapeless phantasms of which no image can be made

and no definite idea can be formed. Some of these have departments or spheres of influence of their own: one presides over cholera, another over smallpox, another over cattle-disease; some dwell in rocks, others haunt trees, others again are associated with rivers, whirlpools, waterfalls, or with strange pools hidden in the depths of the hills. All of them require to be diligently propitiated by reason of the ills which proceed from them. . . . The essence of these practices is magic. If certain things are done decently and in order, the powers of evil are rendered innocuous in a mechanical but infallible fashion. But the rites must be correctly performed, the magic formulæ must be accurately pronounced, or else the desired effect will not be produced."

In these words Risley more especially describes the animism of the Kolarian and Dravidian forest tribes of Chota Nagpur, the Munda and Oraon Kôls, the Santals, etc. Mythological stories here play only a small and subordinate part. Even concerning Singbonga, the good but somewhat listless deity who resides in the sun and who is perhaps more or less identical therewith; concerning his faithless consort, Chander, Chando Omol or Chanala, the moon; concerning Marang Buru, the spirit dwelling in the high mountains who is worshipped by both Hindus and Muhammadans alike—concerning all these the Mundas have but little to say. And the spirits of the departed have only a secondary importance in their eyes; they receive, it is true, a modest portion of every repast, hens are at certain times sacrificed to them—partly out of friendly interest in their welfare in the spirit-world, but principally to dissuade them from ever returning to the huts of their posterity; after the sacrifice the spirits are entreated to return to their habitations far underground; and those present at the sacrifice carefully sweep away all traces of their footsteps in order that the spirits may not be able to find their way to the dwelling-places of the living. The Mangars in Nepal even go so far as to obstruct the path from the grave to their homes with thorns in order that the spirits, whom they imagine to be a kind of mannikin, may not be able to come that way (*idem*, 355, 415; cf. Nottrott, *Gossnersche Kôls-Miss.*, vol. i. p. 57).

To the same group of animistic forms of religion belong in reality the, in general, scanty religious conceptions of the Tibeto-Burmese peoples, who inhabit the north and east of Bengal, the mountain forests of Assam, and almost the whole of Burma. But animism here assumes, on the one hand more mischievous, and on the other, foreign features. Amongst the countless spirits who menace the life and welfare of the Karens and the Burmans, the Nahs (Karen) or Nats (Burmese) play a

large part. These are "wicked spirits of the most dangerous order. They are worshipped throughout the whole of Further India; their cult has superseded Buddhism, which in these parts only seems to be a fair-weather religion, for as soon as any calamity appears, even the Buddhists themselves fall to worshipping the Nats again. The Nats are the main source of all the evils which beset mankind in this world. They can also take possession of a man, who is then called a Nat-man, *i.e.* conjurer or witch. Their number is legion. Whole villages and clans are often impeached of sorcery, held in the greatest awe, and shunned by all. These people can destroy human life by their magic, or can cause lumps of leather or linen, in the guise of beetles and other insects, to enter the bodies and entrails of their enemies, even when the latter are at a great distance—so that they die very rapidly" (*Allgem. Miss. Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 64).

In a curious fashion this animism is related to the totemistic stories of the Creation to be found among nearly all the Indo-Chinese peoples. The Was make it their boast that they are descended from a couple of tadpoles, who later grew into werewolves (*Census Report*, 1901, Ethnographical Appendices to vol. i. p. 214). The Palaungs trace their descent to a Naga or snake princess, who is said to have laid three eggs and from the first of the three to have hatched their forefathers; the Mons, or Talaings, also claim descent from this snake princess, whilst the ancestor of the Kachins is said to have been born from a pumpkin, and so on (*Census Report*, 1901, vol. i. p. 534).

Bound up with this totemism and the ancestral legends therewith connected we also find such singular usages and customs as the head-hunting and skull-worship of the Was. Not that the Was can be really termed cannibals, although neighbouring tribes reproach them with the vice; but when a new village is to be built, when drought is impending, when a pestilential disease is working havoc amongst the people, or on any similar occasion, then a new skull has to be obtained and solemnly offered up. Thus was it ordained by their two founders, the werewolves Ya Htawa and Ya Htai. It will be seen that this is something wholly different from the animism of the Kôls.

We are once more among animistic doctrines, although it is an animism whose characteristic features present considerable variety, when we consider the religious beliefs of the Pariahs and the lowest castes, especially in South India, and above all amongst the Tamils, the Telugus, and the Malayals. Here too the numberless spirits and demons are pre-eminently malevolent; such are the beings termed "Ammen," that is "mothers,"

amongst whom we find the Muttar-Ammen, the awful goddess of smallpox, and Mari-Ammen, the mother of death. "Kali and Bhaara Kali, who play so large a part in the worship of Siva, are neither more nor less than prehistoric Dravidian village-deities, and as such they are still worshipped by those tribes which have had little contact with Hindu civilisation." Alongside these greater spirits we have the wild array of the lean black Peys, or spirits of the dead, of the fat little red Bhuts and of the restless Pisachas, who only stir abroad that they may torment unfortunate human beings. Specially important as rites in the service of such deities are certain ecstatic conditions, as, for instance, the so-called "devil dances." Bishop Caldwell gives a graphic description of these dances (*Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, p. 585 *et seq.*). Fantastically clad, amid deafening noise from rattling, bellowing, and piercing musical instruments, the exorciser of spirits begins his dance. "The music is at first comparatively slow and the dancer seems impassive and sullen. . . . Gradually as the music becomes quicker and louder, his excitement begins to rise. Sometimes to help him to work himself up into a frenzy he uses medicated draughts, cuts and lacerates his flesh till the blood flows, lashes himself with a huge whip, presses a burning torch to his breast, drinks the blood which flows from his own wounds, or drinks the blood of the sacrifice, putting the throat of the decapitated goat to his mouth. Then, as if he had acquired new life, he begins to brandish his staff of bells, and dance with a quick, but wild unsteady step. Suddenly the afflatus descends. There is no mistaking that glare, or those frantic leaps. He snorts, he stares, he gyrates. . . . The devil-dancer is now worshipped as a present deity."

What attitude, then, have these animistic religions taken up with regard to Christianity? Meagre as is their spiritual content, misty and vague their beliefs, and the spirits and devils which are worshipped being in nearly every case malevolent, it is no wonder that these inferior forms of religion have a tendency either to vanish into thin air when they come into contact with higher forms or to be themselves assimilated to those higher forms. We can follow with photographic accuracy this process of higher forms of religion pressing in upon the lower animistic tribal religions (Appendix to chapter viii. of the *Census Report for 1901*: "Religious Ideas of some Animistic Tribes in Bengal," pp. 401–420). That the Mundas, Oraons, and Santals have been thus influenced is well known. Even amongst the Juangs, apparently the least civilised of all Indian races, we find Hindu deities like Siva, Durga, and Balabhadra held in honour; all they lack is a few Brahmans to serve as

their priests—at present the Deharis or village priests must also execute this service towards the Hindu gods. The religion of the Mangars in Nepal is described as having already become a lax form of Hinduism, intermingled with vestiges of the old animistic worship. The religion of the Musahars "illustrates with remarkable exactitude the gradual metamorphosis of the fetishistic and animistic ideas of the Old Dravidian tribes into the degenerate Hinduism of the lower strata of the caste system."

As a matter of fact we can distinguish three stages in this process. A great number of tribes have retained animistic conceptions with remarkable tenacity. In the course of their historical development they have come to regard the representatives of the higher forms of religion—the Hindus in Bengal, the Buddhists in Burma—as their deadly enemies, and this enmity has been to them a wall of protection preserving their animism in an uncontaminated form. Such tribes present, almost without exception, a very favourable soil for Christian missions. They are in a large measure a field well prepared for the seed of the gospel. Such are the Mundas, the Oraons, the Santals, and likewise the Karens, the Khassis, and the Nagas. A great and a good God and Father in heaven, who sent His only begotten Son to be the Saviour of the world, and who protects His children from the malice and power of all spirits and demons—this is in very deed a gospel of salvation to these races. Unfortunately, however, the number of those tribes who have preserved their animism intact is very limited. The Bhils, for instance, are already so far Hinduised as to have changed their Dravidian language for an Aryan dialect. And the Gonds of Central India, who with their population of one and a quarter millions may be looked upon as the most numerous and influential of these Old Dravidian forest folk, have submitted themselves to this Hinduising process to such an extent that great numbers of them no longer speak the old Dravidian Gondi, but a mixed Aryan dialect. The second stage brings before us those tribes and races in whose midst the Hinduising process has made such progress that they have already been included and incorporated into the great structure of the caste system. Owing to the peculiar rigidity and exclusiveness of that system, it happens almost invariably in such cases of incorporation that the respective tribes or clans sink down to the despised level of the Panchamas; as such they have no share in the worship of the great Hindu gods, no admission to their temples, and very often no Brahmans as priests. From a religious point of view they are left to themselves, and hence become demoralised. It would be of great interest to trace

this down-sinking and uprising of Dravidian and Kolarian tribes, and portions of tribes, in the lower strata of Hinduism; but we must for the present forbear. To this second stage belong the Pariahs and the Shanans, the Malas and the Madigas, the Mahars and the Mangs, the Chamars and the Mehtars. As these tribes or castes have gained little by being received into Hindu society, and have lost much both religiously and socially, it is in many cases possible to awaken in them the thought of a second conversion, of a transition from a Hinduism that is for them without healing and without hope, to Christianity, with its rich and manifold promises. As well as the comforting contrast between the simple affectionate teaching of Christianity and a belief in those malignant spirits who peopled their previous religious world, they are also particularly attracted by the prospect of the religious and civil equality which Christianity holds out to them, and by the efforts of the missionaries—as a result of the necessary connection existing between the Christian doctrine of love and this same fundamental principle of social equality—to help every one of their adherents to attain to an honourable state of existence.

Where, however, such animistic tribes have gained socially by their reception into the higher form of religion, or at any rate have not lost by it, where the higher faith has been able to make appropriate provision for the proselytes and to grant to them real equality, there it is that Christianity finds a hard soil and an almost complete lack of response. This has particularly been the case with Buddhism in Further India and Ceylon. The Burmese and the Singhalese races which Buddhism has "commandeered," though it may have exercised only a superficial influence upon them, offer Christianity the most tenacious opposition, in spite of the fact that everywhere beneath the thin varnish of Buddhism animistic ideas and practices exist with unabated strength. Islam too has generally offered its converts sufficient attractions to bind them fast to itself; we can see this on a large scale in the only superficially Muhammadanised peoples of Eastern Bengal and in the town and country population of the Western Punjab and Kashmir. We cannot but conclude that in former times the Hinduising, from a religious point of view, of the great Dravidian peoples was accomplished along similar lines; to them the striking Aryan theogony and view of life has as a matter of fact brought so much that they could afford to make light of the loss of their poverty-stricken little animism, and feel no inclination whatever to know more about Christianity as a still better and richer faith. The task and the methods of the missionary amongst these races and tribes grossly contented with a show

of things will be of a very different nature from his work among the simple-minded animists.

2. Popular Hinduism

Let us now ask, What is the attitude towards Christian missions adopted by the great body of popular Hinduism? We shall not here enter upon a description of this division of Hinduism in its mollusc-like manifoldness and the Protean diversity of its phenomena. Common, however, to all its forms is an endlessly varied world of gods: and even though this Pantheon has a different meaning for the simple peasant and for the temple Brahman, for the Bengali and for the Tamil, yet are they all polytheists. And it is beyond doubt that along with this polytheism there prevails amongst great masses of the people gross idolatry, the worship of wooden and stone images, also worship and divine honours for sacred animals (cobras, monkeys and cows) and plants (the Tulsi plant, the pipal tree). The philosophically trained Hindu will try to make little of this gross idolatry, to spiritualise it, to cast a veil over its nakedness. But the ordinary practices of everyday life and close observation of the manners of worship of the great mass of people all speak to the contrary (*Intelligencer*, 1905, 731 *et seq.*, "The Hindu Idol"). The missionaries are in the right when they meet polytheism and idolatry with a strong emphatic protest, and when they make their appeal to the witness of the religious understanding to the one God and to the worship of Him in spirit and in truth. This standpoint of intelligent monotheism gives Christian missions a position with regard to the majority of the population of India as strong as that taken up by Christianity in the first three centuries with regard to the all-dominating polytheism of the Græco-Roman Empire.

It ought to be pointed out, however, that all sections of this vast Hindu population do not maintain an equally hostile attitude towards Christianity. It is true that as yet no door whatever has been opened amongst the Jains and other sects similarly under Buddhistic influences, amongst the Saivites of South India, and amongst those Tamils who have gone over to the service of Siva and the philosophy that has come to be associated with his name. But the whole of Vaishnavism, the entire worship of Vishnu in all its varieties and sects,—whether in the form of the Rama and Krishna cult, or as a school of Ramanuja and Chaitanya,—bears indications of a more sympathetic attitude towards Christianity, and of an inclination to bridge over the vast difference between them. The doctrine

of "bhakti marga" (which may be roughly translated "the way of salvation by faith") in contradistinction to the "karma marga" ("the way of salvation by works"), and the emphasis laid upon a personal relation of the soul to the deity which is found in the above-mentioned Vaishnavite reformers, is at any rate a point of contact with cardinal verities of the Christian faith. Some students of Indian religions have even tried to prove that in this reformed Vaishnavism Christian elements have found their way into the religious world of the Hindu and have there taken firm root. In any case, the Brahmo Samaj movement has worked mainly along Vaishnavite lines.

Remarkable too are the scattered points of contact which missionary workers have met with in nearly every part of the country. The most striking of these are the traditions of the Burmese Karens, which are so reminiscent of prehistoric times as recorded in the Bible, and in which modern students of theology find a connection, as yet it is true not worked out in detail, with Chinese-Judaic or with patristic tradition (*Basle Miss. Mag.*, 1864, p. 81 *et seq.*; *Allgemeine Miss. Zeitschrift*, 1878, p. 57 *et seq.*). Only recently the American Baptist Mission in the mountain forests of Burma discovered a similar people, the Muhsos, near the Chinese frontier. This race also has remarkably coherent traditions concerning the creation of the world, the Fall, the Deluge, the Ten Commandments, etc., which are only to be accounted for by some hitherto unexplained contact with the Old Testament (*Evang. Miss.*, 1905, p. 140). Amongst the Kôls is found the remarkable myth of Kasra Kora, the Son of Leprosy. This was the only begotten son of Singbonga, the Sun God, who, clothed in a leprous skin and wandering upon the earth at his father's bidding, was sacrificed by Asur in a red-hot furnace, whence he emerged purified, his body glowing with light and gloriously arrayed (Nottrott, *Kôls-Mission.*, vol. i. 62 *et seq.*). To the east of Hubli and Dharwar, in the South Maratha country, the Basle missionaries found a sect called the Kalagnanas, or "sect of prophecy." These all awaited, in accordance with the prophecies of an old Arabian book, the fall of idolatry and the caste system through the instrumentality of a King who should come from the West, and who was to be the one true God (*Basle Miss. Mag.*, 1841, p. 284).

Similar precursory service has been rendered by at least some of the sects, in which Hinduistic elements have been welded together with doctrines and practices borrowed from other faiths, principally from Islam or Buddhism. Such was the case when, particularly in the beginnings of evangelical missions in North India, the Kabirpanths, the followers and disciples of the Vaishnavite Hindu reformer Kabir (1380–1420),

were converted in large numbers; such too were the first-fruits of the mission to the Kôls. In like manner the agents of the Church Missionary Society in the Krishnagar district found adherents among the members of the Karta Bhoja, "worshippers of the Creator," a semi-Hindu, semi-Islamic sect, which existed on the strength of its opposition to the tyranny of the Brahmans.[1]

Of greater moment and consequence are those Hindu sects which, under the influence and through the preaching of the missionaries, have assimilated various Christian elements and mingled them, frequently in remarkable wise, with Hinduism. Thus Droese, a missionary at Bhagalpur in Bengal, came into contact with the Satguruwas, who worshipped a "holy book," and when he came to investigate this "holy book," it turned out to be a tract by Sternberg, a member of the Gossner Mission on the Ganges (*Die Geschichte des Baba-Ji und seiner Jünger*, Anklam, 1891). A similar sect, the Satya-gurus, were discovered by the first Baptist missionaries in Eastern Bengal. In the villages surrounding Dacca, the old capital, they found large numbers of Hindu peasants who had abandoned idolatry, who earnestly sought a "true teacher sent from God," and who preserved in an old wooden chest a well-thumbed book which they regarded as a most precious relic; on closer examination, this proved to be Carey's Bengali translation of the New Testament (G. Smith, *Carey*, p. 236). The Chamar, Ghasi Das, when on a pilgrimage to Puri from Chhattisgarh, in Central India, came into contact with Baptist missionaries at Cuttack, and learnt so much from them that on his return he forsook the worship of idols and ordered the numbers of people who soon rallied round him to worship God under His "Satnami" or "right name." This sect, which came to be called the Satnami sect, has been a factor of great importance to missionary work in that district (*Evang. Miss.*, 1897, 136 *et seq.*). In the Punjab the English missionary Bateman discovered the sect of the Chet Ram, who preached the divinity of Christ, the Son of God, and Saviour of the world, who thought, however, that no one could enjoy either inspiration or revelation without first partaking of intoxicating liquor! All members of this body must at all times carry a New Testament, and as a rule they carry it in their bosom (*ibid.* 1903, p. 275 *et seq.*).

This intermingling of Christianity and heathenism becomes a difficult question when it receives a political or social colouring, as has frequently happened in modern times. This was especially noteworthy in the case of Daud Birsa, the "false prophet" of Chota Nagpur, who, seeking to unite in one the

[1] Stock, *History*, vol. i. p. 314.

impressions of Christianity gained in mission schools and by intercourse with missionaries, and the social and political agitation of the Sardars, raised a revolt and met his doom (*Evang. Mission.*, 1896, p. 91 *et seq.*; 1900, p. 193 *et seq.*). A similar though more far-reaching revolution brought about by a blending of Christianity and heathenism was the well-known Taiping Rebellion in China, the leader of which, Hung Tsiu Tseuen, declared himself to be a younger brother of Jesus (*Basle Miss. Mag.*, 1861, p. 281; 1862, p. 57; 1863, p. 164).

The results of these movements and their generally short-lived connection with missions, owing to their political aims, warn us against overestimating the importance and recruiting force of such movements, astounding as some of them are. Nevertheless, they prove to us how easily tendencies favourable to Christianity are created in the heart of the Indian people, a people ever so susceptible to religious influences, and how tenaciously Christian memories are retained, even under the most unfavourable circumstances. It would be well-nigh impossible to understand how such a mass of disconnected and contradictory elements as popular Hinduism, interpenetrated as it is by the most despicable elements of fetishism and idolatry, could have offered such solid resistance to Christianity, had it not been possessed of three distinct factors by which its marvellous power is upheld. It is these three factors which must be considered as the real hindrances to Christianity—the caste of the Brahmans, the general caste system, and Indian pantheism.

3. The Brahmans

The Brahmans are the sacerdotal order of India. Yet this does not wholly account for the position they have gained in the life of the people; moreover, it is scarcely within the power of any one who has not a personal knowledge of India and who has not made a special study of the conditions of Indian life to obtain any right idea of their importance. Common to all primitive religions—and often to others besides!—is the idea that the efficacy of sacrifices and prayer depends upon the manner in which they are offered. Even in Vedic times this idea was so powerful as to make the Brahmans, as the transmitters and conservers of the sacred rites and efficacious chants, the authorised mediators betwixt mankind and the gods. Religious sentiment in India being very pronounced, the position of the priesthood is a correspondingly privileged one. To this must be added the fact that in accordance with that peculiar conservatism which envelops the religious life of every nation, the entire religious ceremonial is exclusively performed in the

sacred Sanskrit, a language which has been dead for nearly two thousand years. The Brahmans thus became at once the transmitters of Sanskrit literature and the patrons and devotees of science, whose peculiar privilege it was to study and promote the use of Sanskrit. Hereditary rights to influential positions ever tend to a monopolisation of power; we need only remember the struggles of the German emperors of the Middle Ages with the hereditary might of the nobility. Strangely enough, the Brahmans have scarcely ever or anywhere attempted to seize the kingship; but as the only legitimate priests, the patrons of science, as well as the counsellors and ministers of princes, they have established themselves all the more firmly, and have asserted their authority with all the more finality. In a land where, owing to the universal hereditary nature of every calling, the larger number of avocations are pursued for hundreds of years without the slightest intellectual effort or the slightest movement of free thought, there is an obvious twofold result: on the one hand, in the middle and lower classes mental activity is grievously crippled, and on the other, those who are called to the intellectual and spiritual leadership of the people develop a relatively high state of intellectual life, which becomes the heritage of their own families alone. Knowledge is power. When at the time of the great restoration of Hinduism and the conquest of Buddhism, the glory of the well-nigh forgotten gods of ancient India was revived, it was the Brahmans whom this victory principally concerned, and who drew from it the largest amount of advantage. These and other similar considerations gave the Brahmans their great superiority.

We have already mentioned (p. 20) that at the present time the Brahmans number 14,893,258 souls. As they are really the privileged class, they have special reasons for closing their ranks to intruders. For centuries they have been as good as hermetically sealed against additions from the lower orders. Be it said in passing that the same exclusiveness was not practised in former times, that it probably could not have been, or it would be impossible to account for the manifold variations, both in build and complexion, of the Brahmanical section of the community. If from the 294,361,000 inhabitants of India we subtract the 62½ million Muhammadans, the 8½ million Animists, the 9½ million Buddhists, and about 2 millions more for religions wholly unconnected with the Brahman faith, we have a remainder of about 212 million Hindus; dividing the 15 million Brahmans into this number, we see that the latter compose 7 per cent. of the Hindu population. For a privileged priestly caste, for the unchallenged leaders of a people, that is an enormously high percentage. At all events, the result has

been that Brahmans have had to enter other callings besides the service of the temples and shrines—as a matter of fact at the present time they are to be found in every imaginable calling and position; with especial predilection have they sought all lucrative and administrative posts, and, in general, any kind of work in which intelligence and intellectual training are necessary. In this way they win the leadership in all departments of intellectual and economic life.

When one considers that this disproportionately numerous Brahman sect, with its selfish class interests, is inseparably bound up with Hinduism, its gods and its temples, its language and its literature, and when one considers further that Hindu India has for fifteen hundred years and more been accustomed to regard the Brahmans as its leaders both in religion and in mental culture, one can understand what a mighty rampart is here raised against Christian missions. It is indeed a remarkable fact that during the course of the nineteenth century relatively more Brahmans have been won over to Christianity than from any other of the classes of society nearest to them in order of importance; the reason for this, wholly apart from many doubtful cases, is that amongst these men, who, owing to their calling, are constantly occupied with the greatest problems of the universe, there are not infrequently to be found those who are honestly and sincerely groping after truth, and who do finally seek and find in Christianity both salvation and peace. Nevertheless, considered as a whole, Brahmanism must be regarded as a great and hitherto unsurmounted obstacle to Christian missions.

It is an obstacle to missions in another respect also. When such a mighty intellectual force holds truly imperial sway over the entire religious life of the Hindus, it also follows that it will determine absolutely the forms in which that life is expressed. The religious life of the Hindus does in fact flow along channels marked out for it by the Brahmans, and these they maintain with all the tenacity of an order that lives solely upon tradition. These different forms—the temple service, reverence for the Brahmans, pilgrimages, melas, sacred oxen, monkeys, the innumerable caste usages, the daily round of religious duties, etc.—are all hallowed by tradition, and zealously guarded by the Brahmans. And Christian missions can make no use of any of these forms; the Sabbath assemblies of the whole Church, independent of rank or sex, for the preaching of the Word, the rite of baptism, and still more that of eating and drinking in common at the Holy Communion, ordination for the ministerial office apart from class distinction—these, as well as many other things, are to the Hindu entirely novel. It is quite another matter in China and Japan, where from time immemorial widely differing forms of

worship have existed side by side; it is another matter amongst the uncivilised races of Africa, who receive their first ideas of true worship from the observance of that of the Christians. In India this complete contrast between Christian and Hindu forms of worship strengthens the prejudice that the former is something foreign and "un-Indian." This consideration would carry still greater weight, were it not that the power of custom is to a certain extent paralysed by the opinion, inculcated during hundreds upon hundreds of years of foreign dominion, that all that is foreign is good and worthy of imitation. In this matter as in so many others the Roman Catholics have sought to accommodate their rites to Indian usage. The Protestants, on the other hand, have from the beginning quietly refused to do any such thing: their Puritanic zeal has indeed not infrequently carried them in a contrary direction much farther than we at home deem necessary; crucifixes and candles have been banished from the altar, and Biblical pictures from the walls of churches, in order that no slightest aid to the idol-worshipping propensities of the Hindus may be afforded.

4. Caste

The Brahmans are only enabled to maintain their unique position because Indian society is infinitely subdivided into castes, and because the group of Brahman castes is but the uppermost stratum of a most highly complicated social order whose one uniting principle is caste. We do not intend here to enter upon the thorny question of the origin of caste and its value from the social as well as from the religious point of view. We simply desire to focus the fact that Christianity as introduced into India by the missionaries is at once confronted by an entirely different order of society which offers the most violent opposition to its advance. On its forward march through the peoples of the earth Christianity has found other inimical excrescences of society besides caste—*e.g.*, to mention only two, polygamy and slavery. Towards these it has taken up a different attitude: from polygamy it has from the beginning kept aloof, holding it to be incompatible with its very essence. Slavery it tolerated for eighteen centuries, until at length the new spirit it had implanted had grown strong enough to attack this gigantic evil. But polygamy is nowhere—save perhaps in Central and South Africa—a fundamental portion of the social structure of a people; at times it is more or less abandoned by non-Christian races, without danger to the social fabric—for instance, in the later days of Judaism and in the Græco-Roman world of the first and second centuries. Nor is slavery essentially incompatible with the spirit of Christianity: both the slave and his

master may be very good Christians and yet remain in their respective conditions. Moreover, both polygamy and slavery have only to do in the first place with limited classes of people—the concubines and the slaves—for the most part such subordinate classes as are largely negligible in a consideration of the life of the people as a whole. But the caste question of India is wholly different. It includes every member of the community from the Maharajah on his throne down to the leather-worker and the sweeper, and governs all with equal rigidity from the cradle to the grave; it prescribes the usages which must be followed at their birth, when they receive their names, at their entry into civic life, at their marriage, at their death, and at their burial. These usages differ in every group of castes, but within the caste are absolutely binding upon every member of it. The caste determines what a boy shall learn, what trade he shall adopt, how he shall carry it on. The caste determines which gods he shall pray to, what sacrifices he shall offer, which temples he shall visit. The caste determines what each individual member of it shall hold to be good and what evil. In short, caste limits the free-will of the individual in such an exclusive manner that, speaking generally, he no longer lives a separate life, but the common life of his caste. This state of things is only aggravated and complicated by the "family system," which whilst not quite universal in India is yet very general in the middle and higher classes of society. Under this system the individual has no private property, but house and home, fields and cocoanut plantations, even the jewellery and ready money, belong to the family as a whole, and individuals only share in these as members of the family; they are also responsible, however, for the discharge of those duties that fall upon the family, such as the support of the Brahmans of the family, contributions to the temples, and religious festivals, etc.

The first question one asks in view of these conditions is, Can a Hindu, who has come over to Christianity in baptism, remain a member of the caste of his fathers? The question can only be answered with a decided and unconditional negative. It is not the missionary who decides the matter, but Hindu society, which irrevocably expels the Christian from caste. This is easily understood when the remarks made above concerning the nature of caste and the significance of the Brahmans are remembered. As surely as the latter, in the great majority of castes, are the professional guardians of the laws and usages of caste, so surely do they excommunicate every one who deviates from the special idol-worship of the caste or from its recognised practices in connection with births, marriages, and deaths, who has intercourse with members of other castes, or

who even only eats and drinks with them (as for instance at the Lord's Supper). Thus the question is already decided, and this decision will stand as long as the Brahmans exercise authority over the religious life of the Hindus. Every Hindu who becomes a Christian knows that *ipso facto* he will be driven out of the caste of his fathers. There are, it is true, expiatory ceremonies, by virtue of which "outcastes" can again be received into the membership of their caste; and these ceremonies can, according to the time and circumstances, be simplified or elaborated by the Brahmans; but the one indispensable condition imposed upon a candidate for readmission is that he shall promise absolute submission to the rules of the caste and the Brahmans. And for a Christian that is out of the question. As a result there ensue the many painful rendings asunder of those knit by the closest ties of blood relationship, and the frequent and difficult legal question as to whether, and if so to what extent, the outcaste shall have any claim upon the family property, and as to the amount for which he can sue before the law. This section of Indian mission work is rich in martyrdoms characterised by the noblest Christian heroism and self-denial. This is where heathendom and Brahmanism make the life of a young Christian unbearable, even without carrying persecution to the point of blood. On the other hand, it is the self-evident duty of missions to declare clearly and frankly that to remain in the old heathen caste system is impossible and incompatible with the Christian calling. When the Roman Catholics with their extensive policy of accommodation give a wide berth to any such declaration, they are shutting their eyes to the facts of the case. But when societies favouring the caste system, like the Leipzig Missionary Society, carefully guard such a declaration as the foregoing by provisos, and theoretically admit the possibility of castes being cleansed from all the accessaries of heathenism by the spirit of Christianity, and afterwards becoming a fit home for Christians, and so on, they practically recognise the case as we have stated it. Other societies have sought by all means in their power to deepen and broaden the gulf between caste rites and those of the Christian Church.

Another question, and one that ought not to be confused with the foregoing indisputable one, is this: Ought any regard to be paid to difference in caste descent within the native Church? Is this distinction to be cherished, tolerated, or attacked? It is on this point alone that all the hot disputes over caste have turned, and notably the greatly discussed dispute in the Leipzig Society. This latter conflict is all the more noteworthy since it is, as far as we know, the only example of a question of missionary theory being discussed with passion

[illegible] back over it we [illegible] how useless it [illegible] was not in a [illegible] judgment upon [illegible] missionary questions [illegible] consider the pros [illegible]

[illegible] are as follows: It [illegible] neither an Aryan nor yet [illegible] acquainted with a prehistoric [illegible] and the non-Aryanised [illegible] this day without it: caste is [illegible] has come into existence [illegible] ought then to be cast out in its [illegible] development by the [illegible] higher spiritual forces, and especially [illegible] Owing to the general religious [illegible] Hindu life and the paramount influences of the Brahmans the caste system has become so overgrown with [illegible] and idolatrous customs and opinions that it is a [illegible] to attempt to cleanse it from them. This heathen element in the caste system preponderates to an exceptional extent in South India, where it has been introduced and perpetuated principally by the power of the Brahmans, and when in the hands of this priestly caste it has become a means [illegible] the intellectual subjugation of the peoples of South India. That the spirit of caste, which declares those higher in [illegible] to be persons of nobler mould; which practically [illegible] the Brahmans; which confers upon every caste an inherent character of sanctity, the laborious preservation of which is inculcated as one's chief moral duty; which imposes upon the higher castes a haughty exclusiveness towards those [illegible] and which limits the virtues of brotherly love and brotherliness to the narrow circle of one's own caste—that this spirit is from first to last incompatible with the spirit of Christianity cannot be doubted for one moment. Corporate [illegible] hopelessly interrupted, if within what may [illegible] community those belonging to [illegible] with those belonging [illegible] expression in home [illegible] common, and a mutual [illegible] it is thoroughly [illegible] separate entrances [illegible] another, a special [illegible] special plots in the [illegible] of members

of various castes the growing together into a fellowship of the saints is made unspeakably more difficult; in congregations consisting of members of only one caste converts of a lower status are accepted either unwillingly or only after hot disputes, and those of a higher order hold themselves aloof, because they are unwilling to belong to the low "Christian caste." And the employment of the staff of native helpers and teachers is rendered much more difficult if catechists or preachers of lower descent are not to exercise their ministry in Christian congregations of a higher order, *e.g.* if Pariahs may not minister to Sudra congregations.

On the other hand, and taking the arguments in the same sequence, the friends of caste argue as follows: Caste is beyond all question a very ancient institution, and for thousands of years it has been rooted in the Indian mind and consciousness. Christian missions in India increase the difficulty of their task, already a sufficiently onerous one, to the limits of utter hopelessness by writing the removal of the caste system upon their programme. As the main object of missions is to Christianise whole masses of the population, the most important question for them is not therefore, "What is desirable at the present elementary stage of missionary progress in India?" but, "What idea have we formed of a national Church for India, broad enough to include all her peoples and tribes and tongues?" It is true that caste is associated with numerous heathen and idolatrous customs, but that ought not to blind us to the fact that included in the term "caste" there are wide and deep strata of a purely social and economic character with which the trades and handicrafts are united as with a kind of guild, and which lay down important and far-reaching rules for the civil life of the people. Christian missions can and should only undertake the duty of leading all their converts into the enjoyment of a bright and well-founded Christian faith; beyond this they should endeavour to interfere as little as possible in civil and secular affairs. That the pagan caste spirit and the heathen devil of pride must be cast out is obvious; but it is very questionable whether this will really be best accomplished by tearing up social distinctions by the roots and causing Brahmans, Sudras, and Pariahs to meet on one level and to have intercourse one with the other. In the Middle Ages in Europe there were ranks and guilds which were very widely separated, but for all that they contained though not an ideal, yet still a healthy and living form of Christianity; it is surely more than questionable whether it be prudent to graft the modern democratic notions of America on to what are even now the early mediæval conceptions of South India and thereby turn the heads of the converts. It

would appear to be a wiser plan, through the conscientious preaching of the gospel and the faithful shepherding of souls, slowly to break down the caste spirit from within, and step by step to accommodate the laws and discipline of the Church to this new-born Christian spirit. "The supreme principle must be that everything incompatible with life in Christ must be abandoned, whilst all which does not oppose the recreating energy of the gospel may remain. Above all, distinctions of caste must never, especially at the Holy Sacrament, be allowed to exist within the Church. . . . Further, ordination may only be granted . . . to such as specifically promise never to allow themselves to be hindered in discharging the duties of their office through any caste differences, and also that they will especially cultivate fellowship at the Lord's Table with all Christian brethren in any case where the avoidance of such fellowship would seem to cast a slur upon their brotherly love,"—thus writes a decided friend of caste, Dr. Graul, Director of the Leipzig Missionary Society. In conclusion, it is a fact that by definitely fighting caste within a Church its corporate life is in many cases fostered; but it ought not to be forgotten that the Church and, with it, the Christianity it presents, thereby loses much of its attractiveness for the natives. That the middle and higher classes of Sudras, from whom during the eighteenth century the principal influx of converts was received into the native Church, have withdrawn themselves more and more from contact with Christianity, and that the different Churches have sunk more and more to the level of the Pariahs and Panchamas, is surely a consequence of the sharp opposition to caste which has prevailed since the beginning of the nineteenth century. And even though the employment of native helpers within the Church is facilitated by the removal of caste barriers, their usefulness amongst the heathen is correspondingly curtailed, for it is a fact taught by experience that a Brahman or a Sudra, who in addition to his high rank is also a Christian, will gain the ear of his fellow-countryman far more easily than a Brahman who is married to a Pariah woman.

In this connection we are not required to give an unqualified decision for or against, it is merely our duty to give some account of this most difficult and important of all problems connected with Christian missions in India, and by so doing to create an appreciation of the varied caste-strifes narrated in this book. From the point of view of the friends of caste it is to be regretted that the indispensable demands of Dr. Graul with regard to specific points of Church life have only been complied with in a perfunctory and unsatisfactory way even in the Leipzig Missionary Society: in some churches there are

still separate entrances for Sudras and Pariahs; in many cases separate sittings in the interior of the church are provided; with regard to the order of precedence at Holy Communion there are still tenaciously observed rules, which guard the precedence of the Sudras; the entry of a Pariah Christian into a Sudra chapel may give rise to serious dissension, and even permission to inter Pariah corpses in Sudra cemeteries is by no means everywhere obtainable. From the point of view of the opponents of caste it is equally regrettable that they are not in a position to attempt something definite against the caste evil. About the middle of last century many sought to eradicate caste forcibly by means of festival days and love-feasts. More recently they have been obliged to acknowledge that mixed marriages between Sudras and Pariahs or others cannot be forced upon the people; that eating a meal together as a test is a delicate matter which cuts right to the roots of domestic life and which must be handled with great prudence; that those sections of the population which accede without opposition to all the demands of the missionaries with regard to discarding former caste usages, are often invertebrate, servile, and unreliable creatures, and that the Sudras who cling firmly to their civil reputation, and on that account oppose the demands of the missionaries, do not in reality compose the worst portions of the community.

Nevertheless, the Protestant missionary world of India has maintained the view that caste must be entirely suppressed within the Christian community, and often as the present writer has considered the question and gone through the material at his disposal, he is yet unable to come to any other conclusion than that this position is the right one. Recognise as we may the weighty reasons which the Leipzig Tamil Mission—the only Society which is friendly to caste—makes use of and urges with energy and skill, we cannot but deplore the fact that just on such an important question this Society holds itself aloof from the consensus of opinion of the whole body of evangelical missionary societies.[1]

Both as regards the position adopted by Protestant missions towards Indian heathenism—which is summed up both religiously and socially in caste—and as regards the overthrow of the caste spirit and caste customs within the Christian Church, caste is truly a difficult obstacle in the path of missions. And it only affords small consolation to know that both of the other

[1] For further information cf. Warneck's *Missionslehre*, iii. 1, p. 317, note; also the highly instructive treatise of Prof. Warneck in the same book, pp. 317–345; my own *Nordindische Missionsfahrten*, pp. 257–294; the *Census Report for 1901*, pp. 489–559, and the volume of Ethnographical Appendices.

great religions which have made headway in India, Buddhism and Muhammadanism, fully conscious of what they were about and as a matter of principle, have taken a firm stand on this same argument, that caste is incompatible with the spirit of their religion and must therefore be abandoned by their adherents. Neither is it a great consolation to know that during all the stages of its history, from the time of Buddhism onwards, religious reformers have continually arisen and founded sects in whose polity and programme the suppression of caste has ever been one of the leading items. We know too little of the secret history of these two religions and of these sects, but so far as we are able to trace their development we notice that in nearly every case a time of religious exaltation and definite triumph over caste has been succeeded by a period in which the caste demon has again gained the upper hand, and that not only, outwardly considered, have the sects which so decisively separated themselves from their Hindu surroundings finally evolved into new castes, but that within the sects themselves the old caste distinctions have revived with perhaps redoubled energy.

5. PANTHEISM

The chief rampart of heathenism in India, however, is Indian pantheism.[1] Whereas we find as the substratum of Indian society innumerable peoples, tribes, and groups of Pariahs and low-caste folk, who are mostly animists or demon-worshippers, and whereas the great broad belt of the intermediate strata is composed of the countless classes and sects of those who worship a multifarious succession of gods and religious myths, the highest stratum of all, equally widespread and exceedingly influential, is made up of those theosophically and philosophically inclined spirits who have become more or less consistent adherents of one of the six orthodox systems of Hindu philosophy and who profess their tenets. And just as animism extends its influence for a considerable distance in

[1] The *Quellen* are the monumental edition of the *Sacred Books of the East* (up to 1893, 41 vols.) compiled by Prof. Max Müller in collaboration with English and German scholars; and also the *Bibliotheca Indica*, published in Calcutta, in which Sankara's great commentary on Badarayana's *Brahma Sutra* (1863) is of especial value. Based on these original texts the following expositions are of particular value: W. Dilger, *Die Erlösung des Menschen nach Hinduismus und Christentum*, Basle 1902—a masterly monograph, whose conclusions for the most part are adopted in these pages; Paul Deussen, *Das System des Vedanta*, Leipzig 1883; Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*; Prof. Dr. Garbe, *Die Samkhya Philosophie*; ibid., *Samkhya Yoga*; Dahlmann, *Nirvana*; Gough, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*. Further, Bose, *Hindu Philosophy*; Sir M. Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom*; Dr. von Schröder, *Indiens Literatur und Kultur*.

an upward direction, so also do the speculative influences, emanating from the highest and philosophical section of the community, strike their roots far down into the main mass of Hinduism, impregnating it to an extent that philosophy has never done amongst any other civilised race, many of its tenets having become the common property of the whole Indian people.

That a strong philosophic and meditative trend of thought characterised from the beginning the Aryans who migrated to India—as also their cousins german the Greeks and the Teutons—we may learn even from the earliest portions of the Vedas; in these we find the fruitful germs of pantheistic speculation, buried it is true beneath a realistic view of life which regards the abode of the gods, sin, atonement, death, and felicity after death, as undoubted realities. In the broad fields of the Upanishads the pantheistic germs and impulses have grown exuberantly; everywhere the way is being prepared for new conceptions of life and of the world. These manifold tendencies were then taken in hand by the six orthodox schools of philosophy (the "Darsanas") and reduced to ordered philosophical systems. By far the most influential of these are the twin-schools of Sankhya and Yoga, which teach a crude dualism of mind and matter (purusha and prakrit), strongly deny the existence of a world-creating and world-preserving Deity, and dissolve the world of spirits into so many atoms. Still more important are the Mimansa and Vedanta schools, which teach a logical and consistent monism.

It cannot be supposed that we intend in these pages either to follow up this theological and philosophical development in detail or to expound the tenets of these schools of philosophy. For this an adequate literature is accessible. We shall merely seek to show, from some of the most widely accepted categories of belief, in what direct and absolute contradiction to Christianity all these conceptions of life stand.

In reality only Brahma, the absolute Self, exists; He alone is possessed of real existence. All the phenomena of nature, even separate individuals, possess no real existence. Just as ether is a uniform continuous whole and suffers no essential change when it passes into empty vessels of varying capacity, but on the contrary is instantly reunited to the universal ether the moment the vessels are broken, so is Brahma in relation to natural phenomena. "Just as that disc of light, the sun, mirroreth itself oft in varying waters, so as it was predetermined appeareth in varying forms the unborn Self, the God, in the bodies of men. . . . The essence of the soul is truly but one, yet is it seen split up into as many fractions as is the number of the

children of men; simple is it, yet manifold as the moon's reflection upon the face of the waters. . . . In Him from whom they come, who sustaineth them all, even in the Lord of All (Brahma), doth all creation find an origin, a continuance and an end, just as the bubbles of the surf are dissolved in the billows whence they have been tossed. . . . The whole world is verily naught save the absolute Self, and of different essence to that Self is no created thing. And like as vessels consist only of dust, so doth the wise man see in his own self totality" (*Sankara's Atmabodha*).

This absolute sole-existent Brahma has, however, nothing but negative attributes. He is perfectly changeless, eternally without desire, without will, self-absorbed and without self-consciousness. Three attributes are, it is true, ascribed to Him, being, thought, and felicity; but this felicity only means freedom from sorrow, and sublimity above the cycle of birth, death, and transmigration of soul, whilst being and thought are specifically declared to be identical. Thus this absolute Being bears no kind of relation, least of all a conscious relation, to anything outside Himself—to a co-existent world, for instance.

Now the actual task of philosophy is to lead the individual to realise that he himself is only Brahma, is nothing but Brahma. "There is no 'I' nor 'Thou,' all is one; it is either all 'I' or all 'thou.' The idea of duality, of dualism, is entirely false, and the entire universe is the result of this false knowledge" (*Swami Vivekananda, Brahmavadin*, vol i. p. 310). "The teaching of the Vedanta comes to this, then, that in the universe 'thou' and 'I' are absolute, not parts of the absolute, but the whole. Thou art the whole of that absolute, and it stands in the same relation to all other things. For the idea of a part finds in it no place" (*ibid.* ii. p. 225).

Naturally for him who is thus absolutely one with Brahma, who is identical with Him, there is neither sin nor evil; what he does, Brahma does or appears to do,—for in reality all deed is only semblance, *i.e.* Maya. In one Upanishad the following words are placed in the mouth of the god Indra: "Know me only; that is what I deem most beneficial for man, that he should know me. . . . And he who knows me thus, by no deed of his is his life harmed, not by the murder of his mother, not by the murder of his father, not by theft, not by the killing of a Brahman. If he is going to commit a sin, the bloom does not depart from his face" (*Kaushîtaki Upanishad*).

Likewise there exists for such an one no redemption; it is not necessary. The individual is none other than the blissful, passionless Brahma, and he only need recognise this to be free from all the sorrows of this earthly life and also from all the

misery of soul-transmigration—for these things are all illusion, Maya. For him who has won his way through to real existence, to Brahma, this whole world vanishes away like morning mist before the rising sun. "The fetter of the heart is broken, all doubts are solved, all his works (and their effects) perish, when He has been beheld who is high and low" (*Mundaka Upan.* ii. 2, 8). "Self is a bank, a boundary, so that these worlds may not be confounded. Day and night do not pass that bank, nor old age, death and grief; neither good deeds nor evil deeds. All evil-doers turn back from it, for the world of Brahma is free from all evil" (*Chândogya Upan.* viii. 4, 1). "One already redeemed in his bodily life is he, who expelling ignorance, recognises the indivisible Brahma as his own being, and who realising the indivisible Brahma to be his own existence, and having become free from all fetters through the removal of ignorance and its consequences,—the multiplication of good works, doubt, error, and the like—is absorbed completely into, and is made one with, Brahma" (*Vedantasara*, 34).

The duty of the learned and devout consists, therefore, in a withdrawal from this outer world of semblance and deception, and in living solely in and for Brahma. "He into whom all objects of desire enter, as water enters the ocean, which (though) replenished, (still) keeps its portion unmoved—he only obtains tranquillity; not he who desires (those) objects of desire. The man who, casting off all desires, lives free from attachments, who is free from egotism, and from (the feeling that this or that is) mine, obtains tranquillity. This, O son of Prithâ! is the Brahmic state; attaining to this, one is never deluded; and remaining in it in (one's) last moments, one attains (brahma-nirvâna) the Brahmic bliss." [1] Yes, that is it, Nirvâna extinction; for since Brahma, the absolute Self, wholly lacks self-consciousness, this latter must of course be extinguished in all those who are absorbed in Brahma.

That is, as far as its main lines go, the picture of the world in which the Hindus live and meditate—an illusion entirely removed from this world of realities, from the strife and the sorrows of earthly existence, an illusion which not only sets itself in deadly opposition to all objective knowledge, but even more to every activity of the personality. It is unnecessary to point out that such a conception stands diametrically opposed to Christianity at all points. This Brahma has nothing in common with the God of Love, this redemption bears no analogy to the blessed entrance into life everlasting; this setting aside of sin and evil principally contradicts the ethical positiveness of Christianity. And the serious part of the

[1] Bhagavad Gita, ii. 70-72.

matter is, that this philosophical pantheism employs the same conceptions—God, the world, sin, salvation, blessedness, etc.—as Christianity, only these conceptions have an entirely different content, and the Hindus, who are held captive in their vision world, as in an enchanted garden, find the comprehension of Christian doctrine thereby rendered unspeakably difficult. The main error is that from the absolute Brahma the conception of personality, *i.e.* of differentiable thought, of purposeful will, of love seeking an object, is expunged, and in its place we are merely offered Brahma, in a condition of dreamless age-long slumber, in which all thought, feeling, and will remain in entire unconsciousness. And as is Brahma, so is the seeker after Brahma, the wise man; and this gazing upon the unconscious impersonal Brahma deadens all personality in the individual, destroys the power of comprehending what is meant by individuality, and banishes the sense of sin and conscience to the shadowy realms of Maya and mirage.

The outer physical world, however, is too tangible a reality, and its existence had been too candidly acknowledged by the earlier poets and philosophers of India, for Vedic philosophy thus easily to ignore it. The theory of the threefold being was invented to account for the discrepancy. A state of true and actual being appertains to Brahma alone. On the other hand, man is often deluded by a state of being utterly unreal, as for instance in the "Fata Morgana," or when a wanderer by night takes a piece of rope for a snake, or a bush for a footpad. Betwixt these two states of being, the real and the unreal, there lies an extensive region of relative or conventional being. In so far as this partakes of Brahma, it is true existence; but in so far as factors other than Brahma appear potential within it, it is unreal existence. Within this region lies the whole of the physical world.

A second principle has been incorporated with this Absolute Self of Brahma, that of illusion or nescience (Maya = illusion, Avidya or Ajnana = nescience). Whilst this second principle is evolving, the Brahma is girt about with a veil of concealment (Upadhi), is subject to limitations and determination, and the absolute is thereby individualised in particular forms and phenomena. This process is one of gradual progress, and higher and lower manifestations of relative "being" can be distinguished, in some of which the Brahma is comparatively pure, whilst in others He is entirely concealed beneath that which is material. This may also be termed the emanation of Brahma. Thus the philosopher differentiates four stages or phases of the Brahma: (1) the "fourth stage," the absolute Brahma, "the incomprehensible, the imperceptible, the unthinkable, the unnamable, He who is unattainable without a knowledge of the

oneness of self, the one in whom that which is manifold finds culmination, the motionless, the blissful, the only one; (2) the "deep-slumbering" Brahma, "at one with Himself, an indistinguishable mass of knowledge, formed of beatitude, enjoying beatitude, approachable through consciousness. . . . This is the womb of all things, whence all things created have proceeded and whither they shall all return"; (3) the Brahma of the "dream-state" or "dream-sleep"; and (4) the Brahma in the "state of wakefulness." These and other similar gnostic constructions are attempts to bridge over the gap between the absolute self-contained self and the world of reality.

That is as much as to say that for the enlightened philosopher, the wise man, there exists nothing; for in reality there is nothing but the absolute Brahma; the concealing veils of Brahma (Upadhi) are nothing but illusion (Maya) or nescience (Avidya). But it is here that the philosopher distinguishes between an esoteric philosophy destined only for the wise, the initiated, and an exoteric, intended for the ignorant. And he manipulates the latter as though it were concerned with actual entities, in spite of the fact that everything is only Maya and Avidya.

In the wide region of relative "being," which is a subject of endless speculation and which in its entirety constitutes the "lower Brahma," there are three groups of ideas which are of importance to Christian missions. It is amazing with what tenacity, universality, and implicitness two doctrines are accepted throughout India, from the most transcendental philosopher down to the very meanest Chandal—the doctrines of the transmigration of souls, and of retribution. It has not yet been clearly explained whence the Indian belief in soul-migration is actually derived, but it is certain that in the oldest Vedic literature we find neither mention nor suggestion of it. However that may be, it is the universal belief that at death the soul quits the human body and for a time betakes itself to the moon or to the Yama Hell. After a longer or shorter time it migrates to a second body, and on death again ensuing to a third, a fourth, etc., and this transmigration is repeated infinitely, until the saving knowledge of the all in all has dawned upon the soul and it becomes aware of its identity with Brahma. There it finds rest and passes by death into Brahma, where it expires (Nirvâna).

This doctrine of the transmigration of souls is inseparably bound up with that of retribution, according to which every deed receives with absolute certainty and mathematical exactitude its due recompense of reward. As this retribution only very partially takes place during this life, a man's works follow

his soul into his next incarnation, and in such a manner that they determine the character and degree of the new birth, whether Brahman or Chandal, whether cow or snake, or even noxious worm. This law of retribution is inexorable and inevitable, in spite of the fact that there is no God to execute it, and although there is no self-consciousness by which recollection of a previous state of existence may be brought to mind, nor the deeds ascertained which have merited the precise form of incarnation. It will easily be seen what a convenient basis this doctrine affords to the caste system of India, and how it fosters the arrogance of the higher castes,—for have not the latter merited their high station by their virtuous behaviour in a former existence, and is not the Chandal in his low degree reaping the reward of long-past crimes?

Now who is it that suffers this transmigration? What is the nature of the "soul" that migrates? Differing infinitely as to details, the schools of philosophy are yet one in the belief that the soul possesses a "pure" body, which is built up from the "pure fundamental substances" of matter. Amongst views that are widely disseminated we find those of the Sankhya school. According to them, the soul is made up of three fundamental substances of the Prakriti (nature or matter): Sattva or light, Ragas or twilight, and Tamah or darkness. "Bewilderment, fear, grief, sleep, sloth, carelessness, decay, sorrow, hunger, thirst, niggardliness, wrath, infidelity, ignorance, envy, cruelty, folly, shamelessness, meanness, pride, changeability, these are the results of the quality of darkness (Tamah). Inward thirst, fondness, passion, covetousness, unkindness, love, hatred, deceit, jealousy, vain restlessness—these are the results of the quality of passion (Ragas). By these he is filled, by these he is overcome, and therefore this elemental Self assumes manifold forms, yes, manifold forms" (*Maitrâyana Brâhmana Upan.*, iii. 5). Thus does the "substance" of the soul condition and determine its character and the main lines of its moral conduct.

All these categories of thought are likewise wholly opposed to the Christian gospel, and the more widely and the more generally their principles are recognised, so much greater is the obstacle to the comprehension and adoption of Christian truth. This doctrine of retribution closes both heart and ear at once to teaching concerning the forgiveness of sins and the Last Judgment. The fear of the transmigration of the soul makes a man's whole salvation consist in his being set free from the necessity of reincarnation; and this materialistic doctrine of the soul devolves the curse of evil-doing simply upon the general composition of soul "substance," and by so doing destroys all sense of guilt and all aspiration after moral regeneration.

Thus this world of Indian philosophy, despite its many profound speculations and its surprisingly beautiful isolated dicta and conceptions, is on the whole thoroughly at enmity with the preaching of the gospel. It opposes to such preaching a wall hard to be passed over, and demands of the missionaries in the endless disentanglement of its various systems and schools of thought intellectual labour such as is necessitated by no other religion. It is true that the degree to which this philosophy is accepted differs with the various strata of the population. The actual Brahman schools of philosophy, their Tols and Patashalas in Benares, Ajodhya, Nadiya, Bombay, etc., are very hard soil for missionary work; all who would work in those districts must not only have a thorough knowledge of Indian philosophy, they must also be complete masters of Sanskrit, speaking it fluently and even elegantly. There have been but few missionaries who have accomplished this: Carey in Calcutta, Wilson in Bombay, and in later years Johnson, the Church Missionary Society's representative at Benares, the only missionary at the present time versed in the North Indian schools of philosophy.[1] In this difficult field the profound as well as scientifically valuable writings of Pandit Nehemiah Goreh[2] are of importance.

But the peculiar thing about India is that these philosophical conceptions have penetrated deep down into the heart of the people, in fact they have in many cases become the common property of all the Hindus. A predisposition towards the transcendental, the influence of the climate, the historical development of the people, have all combined with these same philosophical ideas to cause the mind of the Hindu to turn away from the real world of actuality to that of abstract speculation, to a world of metaphysics in which he may brood and dream. To how great an extent the Hindus are dominated by this peculiarly Oriental state of mind is proved by the highly instructive article of the Rev. H. Haigh, a Wesleyan missionary, on "The Average Hindu" (*Allgem. Miss. Zeitschrift*, vol. xxiii. p. 384 *et seq.*). Only in recent times have evangelical missions commenced to take this world of Hindu ideas into serious consideration; we shall give some account of this part of the subject in the chapter on the literary side of missionary work.

This philosophical bent of the Indian thought-world renders particularly difficult the transference and translation of Christian ideas into the Indian tongues. Not that we find in them any

[1] Cf. *Intell.*, 1905, p. 26, "In the Sanskrit Colleges and Monasteries of Ajodhya."
[2] *Sketches of Indian Christians*, p. 147 *et seq.*; *Allgem. Miss. Zeitschrift*, 1903, p. 518 *et seq.*

such lack of expressions for higher truth and for abstract terms as is frequently the case with uncivilised peoples; on the contrary, such expressions abound in all the civilised languages of India. But the terms in question are all more or less interfused with pantheism, or with the conception of life developed therefrom, and they therefore call up associations of ideas in the minds of hearers and readers which are unfavourable to the apprehension of the truth. Moreover, since these languages possess both an ancient and a modern literature, a missionary is not in a position to coin new expressions at will; such expressions would fail to be understood, and would take no root in the language. We adduce several examples from South Indian languages, which will at the same time serve to demonstrate the extreme care with which a translator is forced to proceed.[1]

The number of names of gods is amazingly large. If one were to ask a Tamil "munshi" how many expressions there are for the gods in his language alone, he would answer, "It is impossible to say, there are so many." But which dare we use to translate the Christian word "God"? One of the most popular is certainly "Swami," "lord," "possessor," or "owner"; but the same word is also quite generally a title of honour given to the Brahmans. "Kathavul," "the highest being," is too pantheistic to be adopted for literary work, though in preaching it is largly made use of. "Isvara," "lord," is also common to all the Indian languages, and is found in many compounds, but in philosophical terminology it is a much used technical expression for a phase of the lower Brahma in union with Avidya, *i.e.* it describes God as caught in the toils of Maya; for Christian purposes, therefore, the word is useless. The Roman Catholics have chosen a combination of Isvara, Sarvisvara, the "Lord of All"; but it is a name which to the Hindu has a decidedly foreign ring, and it has taken no hold upon the language, whilst to philosophers it is a thoroughly pantheistic term. The excellent Tamil translator among the Danish veterans, Philip Fabricius, following the example of Walther, chose for "God" the word "Parāparan," "the Absolute." The great disadvantage of this word is that the middle long ā may be used in a negative as well as an intensive sense, and it may just as soon be said to describe God as the "Relative," as the "Absolute." The English translators amongst the evangelical missionaries to the Tamils have therefore preferred the word "Devan," and yet even that only means "one God amongst many." In Malayalam Dr. Gundert has taken from the same root the word "Daivam," which corresponds pretty nearly to our own "Godhead." None

[1] Stosch, *Im fernen Indien*, p. 134; W. Dilger, *Das Ringen mit der Landessprache in der indischen Missionsarbeit*, p. 18 *et seq*.

of these words appear to be wholly satisfactory or free from objection.

With regard to the word "redemption," the anxiety of the translators lest the brightness of Christian truth should be overcast by any shade of pantheism was so great that they preferred to reject the well-known and, to the Hindus, sweet-sounding words "mukti, moksham," and instead to adopt Dravidian derivatives from the roots "vindeduka, vindukolka," "to buy free."

Christian baptism has its "analogon" in the levitical ablutions and in the bathings of the Brahmans—which are everywhere termed "snanam." It has therefore been deemed wiser to differentiate "baptism" by a distinguishing suffix, and as the name for heathenism is "Ajnana," "uncertainty," the suffix "jnana," "true wisdom," has been chosen; the compound "jnanasnanam," "bath of true wisdom," is the term thus obtained. It cannot be said to be a clever term, either philologically or essentially, and for this reason it has failed to maintain its place, but the question is, what to substitute for it. The Baptists would like a word which unmistakably means "to dip" to be adopted; the English are in part satisfied with the Anglo-Greek word "baptism"; the Germans use the simple, handy, but easily misconstrued "snanam," "bath."

The expressions "spirit" and "soul" present great difficulties if both are used referring to the human spirit, and especially when they are written one after the other. It is just in this region of psychology that Indian philosophers have invented the most complicated theories, all turning more or less on the words in question. For "spirit," the old Sanskrit word "atma" (Ger. *atem*), "breath," has been retained in Malayalam; it denotes the innermost self of a man, his spirit, though in thoroughly pantheistic language it stands for the "world-soul," the "absolute spirit." For "soul," when it accompanies "spirit," Dr. Gundert fixed on "dehi," "the possessor of a body, the spirit dwelling within a body," but this word means precisely the same as "atma," and cannot therefore be used in the triad "body, soul, and spirit," if "atma" be made use of. Neither can it be used with the possessive pronoun; it is impossible, *e.g.*, to say "my dehi." Latterly, following the example of the Kanarese translators of the Bible, the word "prana," "life-breath," has been preferred.

At every new revision of the translation of the Bible and in every literary undertaking in any of the Indian languages the task has once again to be grappled with as to how a fitting medium, or adequate terminology, for the conveyance of Christian truth may be arrived at in languages permeated with the very spirit of pantheism. It is at such times that one sees

the magnitude of the task of Christianising the popular consciousness of India, suffused as it is with the age-long growth of pantheism, of transforming it into a pure vessel meet to contain Divine truth and grace. The consideration of any of the problems of Indian missions thus briefly outlined strengthens the conviction that the main thing in India is not the increase of the missionary staff, nor yet the increase in the number of mission stations,—that is to say, the extensive development of missionary organisation,—but far rather is it an intellectual conflict concerning the profoundest speculations of human thought in matters of religion, of sociology, and of knowledge of mankind—a conflict in which Christianity and its representatives must give irrefutable evidence of the presence of the Spirit of might and of power.

CHAPTER V

MISSIONARY ORGANISATION

1. THE ANGLICAN EPISCOPATE

WHEN Wilberforce, Grant, and their friends joined the fight that was being waged over the re-issue of the Company's Charter in 1813, their object was not only to gain an open door for all missionaries but to obtain at the same time the establishment of the Anglican Church in India; and the 12th Resolution of the new Charter accordingly ran:—

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee (*i.e.* of the House of Commons) that it is expedient that the Church Establishment in the British territories in the East shall be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons, and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India for their maintenance."

Accordingly an episcopal see was created in Calcutta, and, at first, archdeacons were located in the three Indian capitals. But when British territory in India began to expand so enormously, and when the first four Bishops of Calcutta were suddenly cut off by death, it became clear that at the next renewal of the Charter (1833) independent bishoprics must be founded and endowed at both Madras and Bombay. And since Ceylon, as a Crown colony, does not come under the same administration as the rest of India, it was also found possible without too great difficulties to found and endow a see at Colombo (1845). And therewith all that could be done along the line of parliamentary legislation and State endowment was accomplished, and for the next three decades episcopal development came to a standstill. Only in the last quarter of the century did it revive in a movement which had its parallel in every branch of missionary work during the same period. The Tractarian Movement had been at its height in England since 1850, and with its enthusiasm for the historic Church and ritualistic ideals had enormously raised the standing and increased

the influence of the episcopal office. It became a dogma in these High Church circles that a mission without a bishop is incomplete, and therefore ecclesiastically unsound. The episcopal duties of ordination, confirmation, and church consecration were so rigorously reserved for bishops that it was found their number would have to be considerably increased if they were to be able to minister to the rapidly increasing and widely scattered Anglican community on the mission field. As the same needs existed in all the British colonies, the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund was inaugurated in England in 1841 with the special object of furthering the endowment of new bishoprics in the colonies. But in India it was difficult to find just cause why new bishoprics should be founded. By Act of Parliament almost the whole of British India had been portioned out as the peculiar domain of the four existing bishops; only by a new Act of Parliament could these boundaries be changed, and it was deemed hopeless to introduce such an Act.

Bishop Wilberforce, the son of the great philanthropist, sought to avoid this difficulty by bringing a motion before Parliament in 1853 whereby permission was to be given for the creation of missionary bishops specially for native churches within the then existing bishoprics. The motion, however, fell through. Other means had to be devised. At first an attempt was made (in 1877) to appoint Sargent and Caldwell, the two most distinguished missionaries in the two Anglican Tinnevelly Missions (the C.M.S. and the S.P.G.) to the office of Superintendents, and as such to ordain them as suffragans to the Bishop of Madras. That was purely an ecclesiastical action; but the bishops thus consecrated had for that very reason no spiritual jurisdiction save only as representatives of the Bishop of Madras. A more practical plan was discovered. The territorial limitations of the different dioceses corresponded exactly with the amount of land which had been under English suzerainty in 1813 or 1833 as the case might be. There was nothing to prevent, and that without any new Acts of Parliament, the creation of new bishoprics in districts which had accrued to the English since 1833. The Punjab and Burma were cases in point, and on these grounds the two bishoprics of Lahore and Rangoon were founded in 1877. But the same reasoning would not serve in the case of Travancore or Cochin, as these two countries were only Protectorates, and not English possessions. And yet, both because of the difficulties of access to these countries and because of the superabundant episcopal equipment of the rival Syrian and Romish Churches, it was especially desirable to have an Anglican bishop there. The movers in the

affair took refuge in the so-called "Jerusalem Statute," *i.e.* the parliamentary decree by virtue of which the bishopric of Jerusalem had been founded in 1841; thereby the Archbishops of Canterbury and York were empowered, with the assistance of other bishops, "to consecrate British subjects, or the subjects or citizens of any foreign kingdom or state, to be Bishops in any foreign country, and, within certain limits, to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the ministers of British congregations of the United Church of England." A bishopric was founded in Travancore in 1879 on this basis. It was felt to be an especially grievous state of things that the immense and thickly populated United Provinces should be included in the see of Calcutta, and a reason was sought whereby these provinces might possess their own episcopate. The first proposal that could be devised was to create a bishopric at Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, for that region had only come into the hands of the English in 1856, and did not therefore, according to the strict letter of the law, belong to the see of Calcutta. Futhermore, it was argued that no one could hinder the Bishop of Calcutta from deputing to a newly appointed bishop, "on the basis of consensual compact and canonical obedience," the pastoral charge and oversight of the clergy and churches within a certain clearly defined area; and an Act of Parliament (the Colonial Church Act, 1874) was passed granting the Indian bishops permission to ordain suffragan bishops. It was by virtue of this Act that the Bishop who had been appointed to Lucknow in 1893 took up his residence at Allahabad and henceforward exercised episcopal authority over the whole territory of the United Provinces. Similarly, the bishopric of Ranchi was created in 1890 for the Anglican missions in Chota Nagpur. The bishopric of Tinnevelly also was now placed on a new and, from an ecclesiastical point of view, more correct footing than had been the case since the agreement of 1877, by the election of a properly appointed Bishop. And in recent days (1903), and upon this same basis of "consensual compact," an eleventh bishopric has been created at Nagpur for the Central Provinces and for Central India. Probably even this does not represent the last step in the development of the Anglican episcopacy in India.

Our main object, however, is to trace the influence of this episcopal development upon the missionary history of India. The first Bishop, Middleton (1814–1822) was quite out of sympathy with missionary work; he endeavoured to act as if missions were non-existent. He would not issue ecclesiastical licences to the missionaries, lest he should thereby recognise them as regularly appointed clergymen, and he refused to

ordain native preachers. But this unsympathetic attitude is in the long-run untenable wherever an Anglican episcopate exists; according to general Anglican opinion there devolve upon the episcopate, as such, rights and duties which should influence the entire sphere of missionary operations. The Episcopal Synod which sat in Calcutta in 1877 expressed itself with particular exactness on this point. Its resolutions ran:—

"That the Bishop of every diocese is in the last resort responsible for all teaching given and all work done within his diocese in the name and under the authority of the Church.

"That in accordance with this principle every appointment to the discharge of spiritual functions within the Church ought to be made with due recognition of the ultimate right of the Bishop to be consulted on such appointment and to exercise a veto upon the same.

"That it follows from the same principle that like recognition ought to be accorded to the ultimate right of the Bishop to be consulted with regard to any change in the management, order of service, or place of worship, of any congregation."

Even Bishop Middleton had had the unpleasant impression that the position he had taken up was an unwarrantable one, and on one occasion he had expressed himself in the drastic words: "I must either license them or silence them." His successor, the gracious and gifted Heber, at once took up a precisely opposite position, and succeeded in retrieving, by his own all-attractive and winning personality, the false step of his unbending High Church predecessor. The great problem that lay before the episcopacy in this new and only correct attitude now was: "How are the rights and responsibilities of a Missionary Society, as a body which sends out and controls missionaries, to be differentiated from the all-embracing prerogative of the Bishops?" The High Church Society for the Propagation of the Gospel settled the question simply by unreservedly handing over the entire direction of its missionary work to the bishops, and contented itself with becoming practically a collecting agency for missionary gifts. This was done without any misgiving, because the Society could feel sure that owing to the widespread influence of High Church principles, by far the greater number of bishops would be of its way of thinking, and would therefore carry on its work in the spirit in which it had been commenced. But the evangelical Church Missionary Society would simply have dissolved, would have abandoned the cause of asserting and demonstrating its evangelical principles, had it similarly surrendered to the bishops. It was compelled, therefore, to defend and to fight for its rights in the face of episcopal opposition. So early as

1818, before the point at issue had become a burning question, it had cleared the ground by setting forth the difference between "external" and "internal" missionary affairs: "internal affairs," to wit, "the spiritual power and authority to ensure the conscientious discharge of the duties of the sacred calling," belong to the bishops; the Society can never assume control over the consciences of the missionaries in the exercise of their spiritual functions. On the other hand, "external affairs," such as the founding of stations, the appointment or removal of missionaries, the enrolling or dismissal of catechists and other helpers, the regulation of salaries, the erection and maintenance of buildings, etc., belong to the Society, which moreover cannot relinquish the right of appointment or dismissal of missionaries according as it approves or condemns their theological beliefs or their moral conduct. These views Henry Venn, the greatest Missionary Secretary the Church Missionary Society ever possessed, subsequently worked into a skilfully developed system which for well balanced principle may be commended as a masterpiece of ecclesiastical statesmanship. But it was in the actual field of practical experience that the episcopate and the Society were to adjust their differences. Strangely enough, the first conflict arose precisely through that Bishop (Daniel Wilson, of Calcutta, 1832–1858), who was the most pronounced and devoted friend of the Church Missionary Society. Bishop Wilson deemed it within his episcopal right to claim that he only should have the appointment of missionaries, and also that at any time he thought fit he should be able to cancel the appointment thus made. For two whole years, 1835–1836, a hot epistolary war was waged; the Society was entirely against the surrender of so important a privilege, as this would simply be to confer upon the Bishop equal rights with itself in the direction of its own missionary work. But all was of no avail; before the decided views of Wilson, who had all the traditional ideas of episcopal authority on his side, the Society was bound to give way. In the first paragraph of the agreement drawn up between the Bishop and the Society, the latter admitted the Bishop's right to make and to cancel all missionary appointments. Another Bishop (Spencer of Madras, 1837–1849) at once deduced the corollary that *only* the Bishops, and not the Society, had the right to revoke appointments. A gifted young missionary of Madras, Humphrey, had adopted extreme High Church views, and Spencer wished to retain this man in spite of the wishes of the Society, and all the more so because he himself had High Church tendencies. In this case, however, the Society won the day, and obtained recognition of its own right to sever its connection with missionaries when

according to the best of its judgment it was desirable so to do. For four decades the work was continued along the lines of these early compacts; and then new and difficult conflict suddenly threatened the Society.

In 1875 the Rev. R. S. Copleston, a man of High Church tendencies but withal highly gifted and zealous, was nominated as Bishop of Colombo. How times had changed since Middleton's days! Copleston at once eagerly set to work to learn Singhalese and to study Buddhist problems; he also demanded of all the chaplains under his orders, who were scattered far and wide throughout the island, that they should vigorously prosecute missionary work amongst the natives by whom they were surrounded. But in almost all the chaplains' districts there were Church Missionary Society's missionaries, catechists, and teachers. Would not hopeless confusion ensue if the chaplains at any time should also begin evangelistic work? Copleston thought the matter could be easily settled—the chaplains should be simply regarded as chief shepherds of the flock, and the missionaries and their helpers be placed under their direction. But most of the chaplains were young men, whereas many of the missionaries had grown grey in the service; the chaplains were in the main strict High Churchmen, the missionaries without exception Evangelicals.

The problem was not so simple after all, and out of this disagreement concerning authority between Copleston and the Directors of the Church Missionary Society there grew a protracted and many-sided conflict, which for five years, 1876-1880, agitated the hearts and minds of all concerned, both in England and Ceylon. Questions long unsolved were brought into the discussion one after the other.

The Bishop claimed powers of direction over the Tamil Coolie Mission, a work amongst the Tamil coolies on the Ceylon tea plantations, administered by the Church Missionary Society in conjunction with members of other Churches. The Committee, however, consisting in part as it did of Presbyterians and Dissenters, refused to submit to the dictation of the High Church Bishop. The latter considered it both his right and his duty formally to consecrate all churches and chapels-of-ease where divine worship and the Holy Communion were regularly celebrated. But according to the cumbrous laws of the Anglican Church, every place once consecrated by a bishop must for ever remain under his jurisdiction and belong to the English State Church; the Committee, therefore, which was admirably suited to the ever varying conditions under which its labour was carried on, refused to consider for a moment any such episcopal consecration.

The strife continually assumed new phases, though this is not the place to depict them in detail.[1] Eventually the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, in conjunction with three other highly respected bishops, undertook to restore peace by investigating the whole of the intricate questions at issue and by pronouncing their formal opinion thereon. Their decision was in almost every point favourable to the Church Missionary Society: appointments once made were not to be cancelled except for most serious reasons, and the latter were always to be indicated; besides those for small districts, more general appointments were to be made for wider tracts of country; laymen in the service of the Society (unordained catechists, school teachers, etc.) were only to be under the control of the Bishop while actually discharging pastoral duties. The main thing was that the decision of the prelates recognised the relative independence of the Church Missionary Society in the exercise of its missionary activities. And Bishop Copleston was loyal enough to bow to the decision and to base upon its conclusions a peace with the Church Missionary Society which was equally honourable to both parties.

This crisis had demonstrated one thing most clearly—the keen desire of the bishops to obtain an independent interest in work on the missionary field. Great efforts in this direction were made in more than one diocese. As has already been mentioned in the sketch of the development of missions on p. 156 *et seq.*, Bishop Middleton founded the "Bishop College" in Calcutta, a valuable but also very responsible heritage for his successors, among whom Daniel Wilson in particular strove to bring the all but lifeless foundation into a thriving condition. This same Daniel Wilson cherished another great scheme.

In connection with the beautiful Cathedral built principally at his own cost in Calcutta, he was desirous of founding several canonries — three at least — and of entrusting considerable missionary undertakings to their incumbents. With characteristic generosity and energy he furthered this project with contributions from his private purse. A few years before his death, however, he made over to the Church Missionary Society the entire collected funds and everything thereto appertaining, "as he had become convinced that Indian missions could be better carried on by such a missionary society working from the homeland than by mere independent effort." In several of the Indian sees a governing body, the so-called Board of Missions, under episcopal presidency, has been created, in order to carry on missionary work under the direct super-

[1] Cf. the illuminating description in Stock's *History of the C.M.S.*, iii. 203-215.

intendence of the Bishop; this has been the case in the diocese of Colombo since 1845, and in that of Calcutta since 1885. They have at their command, however, only a portion of the necessary funds and contributions, by far the larger part of their means being voted to them by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. For instance, the Calcutta Diocesan Board has the yearly disposal of over 61,000 rupees; of these, 15,000 are collected in India, and 46,000 come from England.

The two Anglican missionary societies, the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in conjunction with the intimately associated brotherhoods and sisterhoods, and the evangelical Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, compose one great group of the missionary agencies working in India; owing to incomplete returns in the last Census (1901), it is impossible to ascertain the relative proportion of the missionaries in this group to those of other missionary societies at work in India. Ten years earlier (in 1890), of 857 ordained missionaries there were 203, and of 711 female workers 223, who were members of this group; it thus represented at that time a quarter of the entire European staff on the Indian mission field. According to the last Missionary Census in 1901, 184,274 of the 808,210 Indian Christians, or, according to the Government Census taken at the same time, the figures of which on this point are, however, probably unreliable, 305,917 out of 825,466 Christians, belong to Anglican missions.

Yet however influential these figures represent the position of Anglicanism to be on the Indian mission field, the *Intelligencer*, the leading organ of the Church Missionary Society, is undoubtedly right when it calmly answers the far from modest demands of the Anglican bishops—at their Calcutta Synod in January, 1901,—that the "Church of England" be the "Church of India," by stating that in view of such figures there is for the present neither reason nor prospect for any such assumption.

2. Vernacular Preaching

Consecutive reading in nineteenth century missionary literature shows that a decided change of opinion concerning the relative position and importance of the main branches of missionary labour has taken place. In the first quarter of the century elementary schools for the heathen received special attention, whilst the principal successes were awaited from the translation and dissemination of the Bible. Then from about 1825 vernacular preaching, whether at bazaars or melas, in the towns or the villages, became the centre of interest. It was deemed

the peculiar task of the missionaries and the crown of their work. Later still the idea became current that the great branches of the work are co-ordinate, and that any dispute concerning their superiority is, as Bishop Sargent once jestingly remarked, like a quarrel amongst the five fingers for the preeminence.

Almost every missionary society can point to missionaries who have been exceptionally gifted preachers in the vernacular, and who have unweariedly journeyed up and down the country, scattering the good seed of the Word of God. Three methods of vernacular preaching have been developed: actual itinerant preaching in the thickly populated village districts, preaching at the great melas or popular religious festivals, and preaching in the bazaars. In all these branches there have been many missionaries who have laboured with great faithfulness. Such faithfulness is truly wonderful when we see men going out daily single-handed, and for a long period of years in succession, to preach in the bazaars, perhaps without ever seeing any visible results of their self-sacrificing seed-sowing. Rev. A. F. Lacroix, a Swiss missionary, is reputed to have been the greatest vernacular preacher. He went out to Chinsurah in 1821, under the Netherlands Missionary Society, and in 1827 he passed into that of the London Missionary Society, in which he remained until his death on July 8th, 1859. He had a command of Bengali such as was possessed by no other European. By his attractive delivery, his sympathetic expression, and the felicitous use of really idiomatic Bengali, he everywhere drew together vast crowds of listeners, and his convincing eloquence and his speech so rich in Oriental illustration charmed and fascinated the Hindus.

Another great itinerant preacher was McComby, a Baptist missionary who for forty-five years was indefatigable in the prosecution of long preaching tours, but who, like Lacroix, died without leaving a single convert, each furnishing a striking example of the relative fruitlessness of purely itinerant preaching.

In spite of the recognition in principle of the importance of vernacular preaching, there were, however, important factors at work in all the societies, the tendency of which was to narrow its scope or to crowd it out of existence. The most continuously operative of these is of course the Indian climate, which for two-thirds of the year, during the hot and rainy seasons, hinders or altogether forbids a European undertaking extensive travelling in almost every part of the country. And when the rainy season falls so unfavourably as it does in the Tamil country, where it coincides with the "cool" season (November to February), there remains no single part of the year which is

suitable for such work, and preaching tours of any length can only be undertaken when, and so long as, the weather remains fairly favourable. Throughout the greater part of India the "cool" season, or Indian winter, is the time when itinerant preaching is engaged in. During the other eight or nine months the missionaries remain at home. This is a serious limitation, and it is only partly compensated for by the fact that when at home the missionaries can preach daily in the bazaars. Far and away the greater number of them live in large towns, in the bazaars of which an ever changing crowd of listeners is to be found.

It lies in the nature of things that during the greater part of the year, when the missionaries are more or less bound to remain in one place, they have adapted their work to their environment. First and foremost comes the pastoral care of the native Christians. Then we must take cognisance of a feature peculiar to Indian missions, the building up in almost every Church of a somewhat cumbersome institutional organisation; such are the high schools and elementary schools, the boys' and girls' boarding schools, the industrial branches and orphanages, the printing establishments and book stores, the training schools for teachers and preachers, and the many agencies of slow growth which demand the constant presence of the missionaries. There are proportionately few missionaries who are free from the responsibility of one or more such institutions, to say nothing of missions like that of the Leipzig Society to the Tamils or Gossner's Kôl Mission, where the duty of adequately caring for the widely scattered native churches is generally so onerous as to demand the entire strength of the limited missionary staff, and to leave but few opportunities for itinerant preaching. It cannot be denied that these heavy institutional burdens, with their daily and serious demands upon the missionaries, greatly hinder the work of vernacular preaching—which amongst other things demands great freedom of movement.

We shall assuredly not be in error if we add yet a third to these two notorious hindrances to this kind of work, namely, the impression that exists of the relative inadequacy and uselessness of sporadic preaching to the heathen. At the melas, where hundreds of thousands of religiously excited people gather together, this impression is often brought home to the missionaries with overwhelming power and greatly to their discouragement, and it demands men of sturdy force of character like Samuel Hebich, of the Basle Society, to continue to preach, with ever fresh courage, to the apparently boundless sea of listeners by which on such occasions the missionaries are

surrounded. And there is often practically the same feeling when the vernacular preacher proclaims the Word of God in villages where it has perhaps never been preached before, and where perhaps no messenger of the gospel will again set foot for another decade. Only gradually in the course of the century have missionaries come to realise the extent to which the Hindus live in a wholly different world of thoughts and ideas. The first proclamation of the gospel rushes past the spiritual ear of such men unmarked and uncomprehended, and long preparation and tillage of the field of the heart is necessary before Christian ideas can find soil in which to grow. This is the reason why the almost universally adopted method of the middle of last century has been abandoned of journeying through entire provinces and travelling many hundreds of miles preaching the gospel—as was done, for instance, by such a giant in the faith as Rev. George W. Ziemann, a Gossner missionary at Ghazipur, on the Ganges. With regard to vernacular preaching, the wisdom of the old saw is abundantly apparent: "Limitations reveal the master."

It is interesting to read how once and again the missionary societies have made great efforts to assign to vernacular preaching its right place, even at the cost of pushing on one side the burden of the various organisations connected with the Church. In two great societies, the English Baptists and the American Congregationalists (the A.B.), an entire change of policy was effected after the visit in 1854–1855 of their Foreign Secretaries, Rev. E. B. Underhill, LL.B., of the Baptist Missionary Society, and Drs. Rufus Anderson and Augustus Thompson of the American Board. The English high schools were partly given up, the elementary school system was reduced to as narrow limits as possible, and all other forms of organisation were cut down in order to leave the missionaries free for two great tasks, the care of the churches and the preaching of the Word. In the Basle Missionary Society, too, each successive visit of its inspecting Secretaries resulted in closer attention being paid to vernacular preaching. In 1850–1851 Josenhans arranged that at least two missionaries—Ammann for South Kanara and Hebich for the entire Indian work of the Society—should be set apart for the principal task of vernacular preaching. Otto Schott, on the occasion of his visit in 1880–1881, would greatly have liked to bring about in the Basle Missionary Society a similarly radical change to that accomplished by Underhill and Thompson in their respective societies. Under the present "Inspector," Dr. Theodor Oehler, a model system has been introduced throughout the whole sphere of the Basle Society, by which every station, in addition to those

engaged in other branches of the work, shall have, as far as possible, one missionary whose sole charge is vernacular preaching, and who shall be assisted by a body of helpers specially trained for this kind of work.

The English Church Missionary Society has worked along other lines. In 1854 it inaugurated in North Tinnevelly an imposing Itinerant Preachers' Mission, in connection with which devoted men like Ragland, Meadows, David Fenn, and Gray journeyed hither and thither preaching, often at the cost of great self-sacrifice. In the Punjab two highly gifted and zealous missionaries, Maxwell Gordon and R. Bateman, the so-called "Fakir" missionaries, carried on those extensive preaching tours often termed the "Punjab Itinerancy," out of which have grown the stations of Batala, Narowal, Bahrwal-Atari, and Tarn Taran. At this stage, however, a new plan was advocated by General Haigh. Bands of associated evangelists were to be sent out, unmarried men, ready to face any difficulty, and maintaining one modest ménage in common; they need not have enjoyed a liberal education, but they were to be specially cut out for work among the village populations.

The first experiment was made in 1889 with three young evangelists in the Nadiya district of Bengal, and the result was so satisfactory that similar bands of evangelists were quickly created in Lucknow (for Oudh), in Calcutta (for the thickly populated villages in its neighbourhood), and among the Gonds of Central India. As a general rule a clergyman is at the head of the band, and he has from two to five earnest young brethren as his assistants. In every case a kindly disposition and excellent health are required for this very exhausting work, and many of them are only able to accomplish the first stipulated period of five years.

In the last decade vernacular preaching has taken a new lease of life in nearly all the missionary societies. Everywhere the desire is making itself urgently felt, that, as work has for so long a time been confined to the large towns, the great broad surface of the land with its ever crowded but more simple and approachable population should now be more adequately ministered to. "Village Missions" is nowadays one of the most attractive of battle-cries, and who can wonder when ninety per cent. of the Hindus live in villages? Two auxiliaries receive especial favour at the hands of present-day vernacular preachers — limelight views as accompaniments to an evening lecture or address, and "bhajans," or Christian hymns, sung to the melodies, and attired in the poetic garb, of the songs of the Hindus themselves. Special merit in the adaptation of

"bhajans" as helps in open-air preaching has been shown by the American Maratha Mission (the A.B.).

3. Literary Work

In addition to vernacular preaching, literary work has been coming to the front to an ever increasing extent since the beginning of last century. Even the veterans of the Danish Mission did not neglect this department of missionary work. Ziegenbalg proved himself in this respect, as in so many others, a truly great missionary, by undertaking extensive literary enterprises in Tamil as well as in German and Latin. In Tamil his first love was Bible translation; after that he began to compile those books which were indispensable for the young Christian communities: a small hymn-book, a Tamil translation of Luther's Catechism, a summary of dogma (*Theologia thetica in lingua tamulica*, revised and newly arranged in 1856 by Revs. Dr. Graul and Cordes), and a few tracts. His most important work in German was a *Genealogy of the Gods of Malabar*, an exposition of South Indian mythology based on comprehensive and reliable studies; unfortunately this was not printed until 1867, when it was edited by Wilhelm Germann; then, however, it was immediately translated into English, and according to Benfey, the philologist, it is even to-day "a usable, and indeed a useful work." Further, he compiled a *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, a critical consideration and index of 150 Tamil books, or, as we may term it, a history of Tamil literature *in parvo*. Other missionaries emulated the successes of Ziegenbalg, at any rate in the composition and publication of works in Tamil and other Indian tongues. In Tamil especially, there arose during the eighteenth century a not inconsiderable Christian literature. At the head of this stand the brilliant translation of the Bible by Fabricius, and his magnificently successful adaptations of German hymns, the "heart-melters," as pious Tamils named them. Then we ought to mention a Church History by Rev. Theodor Walther, which went through three editions (Madras, 1735, 1739, 1809), an exposition of the Lord's Prayer by Christian Friedrich Schwartz (2nd edition, 1770), and a "Conversation," also by Schwartz. In addition to these works, there were also published Latin-Tamil, Tamil-Latin, English-Tamil, and Tamil-English Dictionaries, translations of H. Müller's *Erquickstunden*, Starcke's *Leidensgeschichte*, Bogatsky's *Schatzkästlein*, Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein*, *Wahres Christentum*, etc. Especially was the over-zealous Benjamin Schultze continually occupied in issuing publications not only

in Tamil but also in other Indian languages, such as Sanskrit, Telugu, Hindustani, etc. The printing-houses of both the Tranquebar and Madras missions were never allowed to stand idle, and even in far-away Halle Tamil publications were rapidly given from the press.

But this literary activity of the eighteenth century was a mere prelude to that developed in the nineteenth century. It is highly significant that at the turn of the century we find the Men of Serampore with their world-wide horizon and their burning desire to unlock all the Indian languages and to translate the Holy Scriptures into them all. It is unfortunately impossible to do anything like justice to the extensive literary work of Protestant missions. Therefore, just as we took occasion in our description of the life and work of Carey and Duff to consider their literary productions, so we shall find that the detailed history of the individual missions in India will supply us with an opportunity of mentioning their most important literary products. We must content ourselves here with a few general remarks.

The literary activity of evangelical missions has been principally manifested in four directions. The first and most important of these has been the effort—undertaken with an amazing measure of enthusiasm and erudition—to translate the whole Bible into at least all the more important languages of India. This magnificent and tremendous work we shall discuss shortly. A second great and well-nigh unlimited department of literary activity has been the exploration of India from every point of view as a theatre of war, in preparation of and as a foundation for the actual work of missions. This department includes investigations of the religious history of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Zoroastrianism, and the divers sects of India; also ethnographical research into castes, manners and customs, and ways of thinking among the Indian peoples; philological research resulting in grammars and dictionaries of all the greater and more cultured Indian languages, and the opening up and the putting into print of countless Indian dialects, up to that time unwritten and wholly without literature of any description. The third great department of literary effort has been the creation of a well-furnished literary arsenal for use in work amongst the heathen of all peoples and castes, polemic writings against Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Sikhism, caste, Hindu abuses, etc., and expository writings containing positive statements of Christian truth and the evangelical conception of life. Finally, the fourth department—one second in importance only to the first and the one most largely cultivated—is the providing of healthy and satisfying spiritual nourishment for

the native Christian community: hymn-books, liturgies, books on homiletics for catechists and preachers, weekly and monthly magazines, etc. In the peculiar circumstances prevailing in India one might almost add, as a fifth widely diversified and greatly cultivated field of labour, the preparation of school-books and text-books for high and low, for English as well as native boys' and girls' schools, and, coupled with this, the task of providing healthy and suitable reading for the youth growing up in the schools of the country.

(a) *Bible Translation*[1]

Although Romish missions had been at work in India fully three hundred years before evangelical missions, and although they had numbered within their ranks such distinguished linguists as Nobili and Beschi, they did not produce one single translation of the Bible, only a falsification of it, the notorious Esur Veda. Faithful to their ecclesiastical traditions, these Romish missions took no interest whatever in placing the Bible in the hands of the heathen in their own language. Evangelical missions have had it all the more laid upon their heart to make the Word of God easily accessible to all the peoples of India. Since Protestant missions are based entirely on the Scriptures, and carry as their sole weapon the Word of God, they fight with open visor in giving the Bible itself to the natives, for they are perfectly convinced their cause will be advanced thereby. Hence the work of translating the Bible has from the first occupied a distinguished place on the programme of evangelical missions. The work accomplished is of a very high order, in fact it is in many ways perfect in its kind. The task is a stupendous one. In India 147 different languages and dialects are spoken; far and away the larger number of these were not even reduced to writing, or at any rate were not yet moulded into shape for the purposes of literature, when the translation of the Bible was commenced by the missionaries. In many of them they were compelled first of all to compile the most elementary auxiliaries, grammars and dictionaries. It cannot therefore be marvelled at if many of the earliest translations soon proved unsatisfactory, and had to be replaced partly by a succession of revised versions, partly by wholly new ones. We can divide the great record into two divisions, the period of translations by individual lin-

[1] Bibliography; *Missionswissenschaftliche Studien*, Warneck (*Festschrift*), pp. 187–213. This is a capital monograph. Older and less trustworthy are the *Allgem. Miss. Zeitschrift*, 1891, pp. 452 *et seq.*, and 1889, pp. 59–65. Then there are the valuable tables in Dennis' *Centennial Survey*, p. 133, etc.

guists—say down to 1850—and the period of Revision Committees (since 1850). We shall limit ourselves in what follows to the greater Indian languages; that which has been accomplished in the less important tongues and numberless dialects can be better treated when we come to speak in detail of the mission fields directly concerned.

The first Indian language into which the Bible was translated was Tamil. After several premature attempts by the Dutch in Ceylon, and after the preparatory labours of Ziegenbalg, that gifted and industrious missionary, Fabricius, produced after twenty years (1753–1772) of toil that classical translation which the Tamils have since called "The Golden." To this day it is used by the Leipzig Missionary Society, and modern revisions (the last was made in the eighties) have chiefly been directed towards a restoration of the actual old text of Fabricius. From the very beginning, however, English and American missions have not made use of Fabricius' version. A revised version by Rhenius having proved both shallow, monotonous and arbitrary, and a translation by Percival of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel having been spoiled by too large an element of Sanskrit, a wholly new translation was undertaken by Bower, also of the S.P.G. His production proving likewise open to much criticism, a Committee of Revisers, composed of distinguished linguists, worked once more through the whole Bible during the years 1857–1869. The result was the so-called Madras Version, which is admitted to be extraordinarily successful by all those competent to judge—which is, in fact, regarded as a model translation, and is used by all the English and American missionary societies.

The new missionary era started in Bengal, and it was only natural that the work of Bible translation should first be seriously grappled with in Bengali. The Bengali language is also very important, because the Bengalis are one of the most intelligent races of India, and are in many respects leaders of thought to the rest of the country. The only materials Carey found at his disposal were manuscript fragments of translations made by a devout indigo planter, Ellerton, and an Anglican chaplain, Thomas. He therefore made a completely new and original translation. The New Testament appeared as early as 1801, and the Old Testament in 1809. With tireless industry he toiled at the correction and improvement of this his favourite task right up to his death; the revision of the proofs of the eighth edition of the New Testament was his last occupation on earth. In spite of all this labour, however, Carey's translation has been superseded. After Haberlin and Sandys, both of the Church Missionary Society, had endeavoured to again bring

into public notice Ellerton's work, the two Baptist linguists, Drs. Yates and Wenger, undertook a fresh translation (1833-1845) into Bengali, based upon the version of Carey. It is their translation which has been taken as a starting-point for the labours of the great Revision Committee which since 1875, under the presidency of Dr. Wenger and of his learned colleague and successor, Dr. Rouse (also a Baptist), has been seeking to produce a version reliable and satisfactory from every point of view.

During the first half of the last century too high an estimate was placed on the value of a translation of the Bible into the sacred language, Sanskrit. This was no doubt a consequence of the brilliant discoveries that were then being made in Indo-Germanic philology and of the enthusiasm then awakened for the newly unveiled world of Indian antiquity. It was hoped that such translations would prove a means of access to the Brahmans, who still remained the leaders of the intellectual life of India. Particular mention should be made of Dr. Carey in this connection; he spoke Sanskrit fluently and was one of the first authorities of his time upon it. He translated the whole of the Bible into this very difficult language (1808–1818), and his successors, Drs. Yates and Wenger, have spared no pains in their attempts to improve and perfect his translation.

Of more importance were the two widely spoken and closely related languages of Hindustan, Hindi and Urdu. The old Danish missionary, Benjamin Schultze, had made many translations into Urdu, and the Men of Serampore had also occupied themselves with it. The first complete translation into Urdu was made by the saintly Henry Martyn; it was printed in 1815. Martyn's translation was afterwards thoroughly revised by Dr. R. C. Mathers, a gifted missionary of the London Missionary Society stationed at Mirzapur, near Benares.[1] On the other hand, Revs. Dr. Yates of Calcutta (B.M.S.) and C. J. Hoernle of Meerut (C.M.S.) made independent and wholly new translations which were distinguished, the first for the wonderful linguistic lore it gave proof of, the second for its exceeding truthfulness to the original. There were thus quite a number of preparatory studies, and there arose a pressing need for one great final translation. This difficult and important task was undertaken (from 1892 – 1903) by a committee of revisers composed of the best Urdu scholars, both missionaries and others. It met under the chairmanship of Dr. Weitbrecht (C.M.S.), and accomplished its design in one hundred and twenty sittings. All the societies concerned have signified their

[1] Hence the first edition (1842) is termed the Benares Version, and the second (1872), which does not differ from the foregoing in any essential features, the Mirzapur Version.

readiness to lay aside their own particular translations in favour of this one, which has been executed by the joint labours of representatives from each of them.

There was almost as great an abundance of translations into Hindi. The first was the work of Carey, the ever-indefatigable (1809–1818), whilst the second had been made by Bowley, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, who based his work somewhat on Henry Martyn's Urdu translation. The New Testament in this translation (1845–1850) was so thoroughly revised by Parsons and Holcomb (both of the Church Missionary Society), and the Old (1868) by Dr. Joseph Owen, that they may be almost regarded as new versions. Yet none of these attempts satisfied the demand for a good translation of the Bible. A Revision Committee has therefore taken this matter in hand also, since 1884; its labours were brought to a successful issue mainly owing to the industry and zeal of Drs. Hooper (Church Missionary Society) and Kellogg (American Presbyterian). The result has been once more the production of a practically new translation, which has met with great acceptance at the hands of all Hindi scholars.

In Assamese the most important translation, after one by Carey (1815–1832) which soon became obsolete, is that of the two American Baptists, Revs. Dr. Brown and Gurney. The former was responsible for the New and the latter for the Old Testament. They worked with great industry, and the first edition of the complete Bible appeared in 1888. A very much improved edition edited by Gurney was published in 1903. The ground was prepared in Oriya, the language of Orissa and the adjacent districts, also by Carey through his translation of 1811–1817; this was thoroughly revised (1838–1844) by Messrs. Sutton and Noyes, missionaries of the General and the Free Will Baptists respectively. It was again thoroughly revised by the eminent linguist, Dr. Buckley, about 1870. In the early nineties a Committee of Revision was formed, Dr. Buckley presiding, and the whole matter taken in hand, but the Committee has not yet concluded its task.

In Punjabi, following on imperfect and early obsolescent translations by Carey, Dr. Newton, the American pioneer missionary, has been responsible for the most effective work. He was permitted to labour for fifty-six years (dating from 1835), and he received help from a number of missionaries belonging to the Church Missionary Society. Towards the close of the eighties a Revision Committee was appointed, Dr. Newton being in the chair, and a thoroughly revised edition of the New Testament has recently been issued (1906) by them.

As Carey's translation of the New Testament into Kashmiri proved unserviceable, two missionaries, Messrs. Wade and Knowles, have made an entirely fresh translation of the New (1883) and the Old (1899) Testaments. In Sindhi the New Testament only is obtainable; it was translated by three members of the Church Missionary Society—Messrs. Burn, Isenberg, and Shirt—in 1878, and thoroughly revised in 1896. Carey's translation of the New Testament (1820) into Gujarati was also soon superseded; Messrs. Skinner and Fyvie of the London Missionary Society undertook a new translation of the whole Bible (1815–1823). After this had been first revised in 1862 by the Irish Presbyterians, who took over the work begun by the London Missionary Society in the region in question, it was again radically revised by a Committee of Revision (1890–1903) composed of the best scholars in the language, presided over by the missionary Shillidys.

A great deal of work and perseverance has been expended on the translation of the Bible into Marathi. Carey, it is true, had been Professor of Marathi at Fort William College, but his translation of the Bible into this language (1811–1820) soon proved ill adapted for practical purposes. In 1826 the missionaries of the American Board published a new translation, and in 1848 the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. Following up a cursory revision of the various attempts which had been made from as early as 1857, a Revision Committee assembled at Bombay in 1894 under the direction of the learned Dr. Mackichan, of the Free Church of Scotland. Since that date this Committee has been actively engaged, in almost daily sessions, in the attempt to produce as perfect a Marathi Bible as possible.

Especially difficult was the work in Singhalese, the language of the Aryan immigrants in Ceylon. The language of the lower classes, of polite society, and of literature are so widely diverse that one is almost led to despair of any translation ever being made which shall be comprehensible to all classes and withal faithful to the original. Efforts in this direction have not been lacking. A translation initiated by the Dutch (1739–1776) and revised by Fereira in 1783 is wholly obsolete. In the years 1817–1823 a translation of the whole Bible was undertaken by Tolfrey, a civil servant, and by Messrs. Clough, Armour, and Chater, missionaries of the Wesleyan Church and Baptist Missionary Societies respectively. About the same time the Anglican missionaries in those parts published another under their own sole supervision. In 1846 a Revision Committee was formed under the scholarly linguist Gogerly; in the main it adopted the older versions for the Old Testament, but produced

a fresh and decidedly improved translation of the New Testament, known as the "Gogerly" or "Interim" translation. In 1886 another Translation Committee was formed under the presidency of Rev. S. Coles (Church Missionary Society), and missionaries and native preachers representing all the societies at work on the island belong to it. Their labour, however, in spite of all the perseverance and zeal they have put into it, is not yet concluded, and it is very doubtful whether the result will be satisfactory to all parties.

In the Malayalam districts, on the narrow west-coast region of India, it is very unfortunate that the northern dialect, in which the Basle missionaries carry on their work, differs widely from the southern dialect, which is used by the Anglican missionaries and into the ecclesiastical phraseology of which a considerable number of Syrian expressions and idioms have entered. The whole Bible was translated (1820–1842) into the southern dialect by Benjamin Bailey (Church Missionary Society) and into the northern (1844–1868) by Gundert of the Basle Society. In spite of the great difficulties of the case, an attempt was made as early as 1871 by a committee composed of representatives from both districts to create one single Malayalam Bible. Many fine scholars have worked at it: pre-eminently amongst the Englishmen we ought to mention Messrs. Baker, Maddox, and Richards; belonging to the Basle Missionary Society, Herrn Fritz, Knobloch, and Frohnmeyer; and amongst the Indian Christians, Dr. Koshi Koshi, Messrs. Chandran, Rasulam, and many others. The highest praise is due, however, to the distinguished and brilliant Basle missionary, Wm. Dilger. The work, by reason of many differences and disappointments, has made but slow progress. Their version of the New Testament was, however, completed in 1899.

In Kanarese also, the language spoken in the western highlands of the Deccan, there existed two translations, one by Messrs. Hands and Reeve, of the London Missionary Society, and the other by two gifted Basle missionaries, Mögling and Weigle. At the suggestion of the British and Foreign Bible Society, supporters of both translations assembled in a united Revision Committee (1850–1860) which issued an improved version of the whole Bible. As even this, however, did not give complete satisfaction, a new Revision Committee was formed in the nineties with representatives of all the societies at work in Kanara, under the presidency of the Rev. Henry Haigh, a very able Wesleyan missionary, though one, it must be admitted, of most advanced philological views. This Committee has completed its revision of the New Testament and is now at work upon the Old Testament.

More difficult and more complicated was the labour involved in translating the Telugu Bible. In connection with the earliest translations into this language, very good work has been done by the representatives of the London Missionary Society in Vizagapatam, especially by Messrs. Desgranges, Pritchett, and Gordon, who produced two practically complete translations (1810–1857). Both, however, stood very much in need of revision, and a long line of experienced missionary linguists have rendered this service. Special mention should here be made of Drs. Hay (L.M.S.) and Chamberlain (American Reformed Church), and Messrs. Lewis (American Baptist), H. Schmidt (General Council), Bacon (L.M.S.), Cain and Alexander (C.M.S.), and others. Again and again did revision committees assemble without bringing the matter to a successful issue. On the one hand, the dialects spoken in the various districts of this mission field differ very widely; on the other, there are many private interests which come to the fore, especially in Baptist missions, which are here in the majority. In spite of all the earnest toil expended during the past forty years, a universally accepted and entirely satisfactory Telugu Bible is even to-day unfortunately nothing but a pious hope.

An enormous amount of industry, learning, and culture has been spent upon these various translations of the Bible, which are here sketched in the barest outline. Particularly during the last twenty years have missionaries devoted themselves to the strenuous work of revision in every part of India. It is to be hoped that their work will be brought to a happy issue in all the greater tongues of India during the present decade. In connection with this fundamental work, and almost as much with regard to the earliest translations as to the later revisions, inestimable services have been rendered by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Thanks to its satisfactory financial position, it has been enabled either itself to print or has rendered great assistance in the printing of almost all the translations we have named, as well as of those which are still incomplete. And because of its independent situation, in that it lies outside of all the particular interests of the societies at work in the various language zones, it has been specially fitted to become the representative of their common interest in the distribution of the Word of Life to every people and tribe in as perfect a form as possible, and to invite the most distinguished linguists in each district to united labour. It borrowed these men, in some cases for years, from their respective missionary societies, paid the cost of their maintenance, and assembled them in places where they would enjoy sufficient leisure to be able to undertake the intense mental

[illegible] Indian auxiliary [illegible] which can look [illegible] from north to [illegible] that of [illegible] the North India [illegible] the Punjab, [illegible] Bangalore [illegible] 1878, to [illegible] Bible and Tract Society [illegible] societies we [illegible] warehouses filled [illegible] in the tongues spoken in the [illegible] are con[illegible] Bible Society of Madras [illegible] New Testaments, and 163,365 [illegible] the North India Bible [illegible] New Testa[illegible] of the secretaries, [illegible] the extent of [illegible] —

[illegible] and Religious Book Depository, with [illegible] of an ever-growing [illegible] far beyond the limits of the Province. [illegible] publications go— [illegible] beyond them [illegible] Madras and Hyderabad, and in [illegible] Muhammadan readers is being [illegible] wherever Indian [illegible] labourers emigrate, our [illegible] them—to Australia and [illegible] and Mombasa, to Demerara and Liverpool. [illegible] Punjab Bible Society for 1900 amounted [illegible] Testaments, and [illegible] portions in twenty-[illegible]

[illegible] Other Literature

In the year 18[illegible] Rev. Dr. Waltroth attempted to draw up a complete list of all the more important books and publications which had been produced by missionaries and native Christians either in or about the languages of India.[1] This was at that time a tiresome but meritorious piece of work. To-day, only twelve years later, a similar undertaking would be both impracticable and superfluous; the mere titles of the books which have been written by the representatives of Protestant missions

[1] *Allgemeine Miss. Zeitschrift*, vol. xx. p. 129 *et seq.* p. 222 *et seq.*

in the languages of India would fill a thick volume. Lists such as the above exist in English, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam, Tulu, Badaga, Toda, Koi, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Mikir, Ao Naga, Angami Naga, Tangkhul Naga, Garo, Manipuri, Khasia, Gond, Santali, Mundari and Oraon, Malto, Nepali, Lepcha, Marathi, and Urdu. Further catalogues of this kind are in course of preparation in Hindi, Gujarati, and other languages.[1] In the *Descriptive Catalogue of Urdu Christian Literature, with a review of the same and a supplementary catalogue of the Christian publications in the other languages of the Punjab* (Lahore, first edition, 1886; second edition, 1901), the title index of Christian publications in Urdu alone occupies fifty-eight pages. We ought, however, to state that of all the Indian languages Urdu possesses the largest Christian literature.

Besides the branch associations of the British and Foreign Bible Society, there are two great organisations in particular which have devoted themselves to the creation and dissemination of Christian literature. First and foremost is the Religious Tract Society of London, which has thrown out a network of branches all over India which we shall again proceed to enumerate in geographical order, passing from north to south: The Calcutta Tract and Book Society (1823, yearly turnover 1,091,233 volumes), the North Indian Tract and Book Society at Allahabad (1848, turnover 475,000 volumes), the Religious Book Society in the Punjab (founded, Lahore, 1863, turnover 295,845 volumes), the Bombay Tract and Book Society (1827, about 400,000 volumes), the Religious Tract and Book Society of Madras (1818, 1,991,285 volumes), the Bangalore Tract and Book Society (1855, 97,182 volumes), the Gujarat Tract Society (Surat, 1854, 63,750 volumes), the Orissa Tract Society (Cuttack, 1873, 44,000 volumes), the Malayalam Religious Tract Society (Trichur, 1895, 88,908 volumes), the South Travancore Tract Society (Nagercoil, 1853, 360,100 volumes), the Jaffna Tract Society (1800), and the Christian Literature and Religious Tract Society of Colombo (1860, 364,400 volumes). According to the detailed statistics given in the Report of the Madras Decennial Missionary Conference, these auxiliary societies of the London Religious Tract Society, in conjunction with a few kindred societies and associations, printed in all during the years 1891–1900 some fifty-three and a half million volumes, disposing during the same time of nearly sixty-two million volumes, for which close on two millions of rupees were paid.

[1] They can all be obtained from the Christian Literature Society, Madras Royapetta.

A second great organisation of more recent origin than the foregoing is the group of Christian Literature Societies. Under the powerful impulse of the Mutiny of 1857, Christian circles in England determined, under the leadership of Lord Shaftesbury, to take a noble "Christian revenge" on India by founding a great society for the promotion of education on Christian lines, particularly by means of elementary schools, the training of native teachers, and the dissemination of wholesome Christian literature. The Association sprang into life at Madras and Bombay in 1858 under the title of the "Vernacular Education Society." During the first decades of its existence it laid principal stress on the fostering of the elementary school, which it imagined could be developed on a purely Indian basis and in connection with the old Indian "patashalas." Large groups of village schools were therefore created in the low-lying plains of Bengal, in the neighbourhood of Amritsar in the Punjab, and in the Madura province of South India. As aids to this work, normal colleges were opened in Amritsar, Ahmadnagar, and Dindigul. Gradually, however, the Association turned its attention more and more exclusively to literary work. Only the Ahmadnagar Seminary was kept up, and it still serves the American Board as a training institute for its native teachers. In accordance with this change of front, the Association adopted the name of "Christian Literature Society." As such it has founded a network of branch societies, as, *e.g.*, in 1858 the Christian Literature Society of Bombay, in 1881 that of Ludhiana in the Punjab, in 1899 that of Mysore, and formerly two for the United Provinces and Bengal. By far the largest of these intimately connected associations is that of Madras, which we may regard as the parent society. It has an annual turnover of 731,149 books and tracts, more than three times as many as all the other branch societies put together. Down to the year 1900 the Society as a whole had printed 2380 books in eighteen different languages, with a total of 26,000,000 copies issued. Upwards of 100,000 native children have received elementary education on Christian lines in its schools, and 1200 Christian teachers have been trained in its normal colleges. The principal credit for this very successful undertaking is due to Dr. John Murdoch, the Secretary of the Society from its inception down to his death (August 10th, 1904). After Alexander Duff, no other man has done so much for the diffusion of Christian thought in India as this plain, modest, indefatigable, plodding Scotsman. Born in Glasgow on July 22nd, 1819, he went out to Kandy in 1844 as headmaster of a Government school. Here he soon interested himself in the production of Christian literature, and it was thanks to his

instigation and enthusiasm that a Religious Tract Society was founded in Ceylon in 1847 and that the young Society took over the printing establishment previously belonging to the Baptists. In 1855 he entered the service of the United Presbyterians of Scotland in order to devote himself entirely to literary work; and in 1858 he gladly accepted a call to Madras, which placed him at the head of the Christian Vernacular Education Society. At its disposal he placed his entire strength and his many gifts for four and a half decades. Generally speaking, he directed all his efforts towards the production in English and in the more important Indian tongues of school books recognised by the Government, and towards intellectual provision for educated young people who have learnt English and thereby find themselves in a maze of antagonistic ideas and tendencies, out of which it is difficult for them to find their way. On their behalf he wrote pamphlets and tracts on all burning questions of the day and on all phases of the ever-varying religious life of India. These writings in many cases exercised a highly enlightening and quickening influence. More and more did the plainly furnished study of the little man with the shrivelled-up face become the centre of Christian literary work for the whole of India.

Besides these two great interdenominational organisations, almost every individual denomination makes less comprehensive attempts to produce literature for its own peculiar necessities and to expound its own peculiar views. Many societies—as, for instance, the Leipzig Tamil Mission—hold almost entirely aloof from the general literary movement because they are fortunate enough to possess an extensive and truly excellent literature of their own. Church of England missions owe much to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which of course has a strong leaning towards High Church principles and has had the Common Prayer Book and other specifically Anglican and devotional books translated into the languages of India and printed. Moreover, the American Baptists, with their flourishing Telugu Mission, have founded a Telugu Baptist Publication Society under the direction of the gifted missionary linguist John McLaurin.

During the first thirty years of last century, so fresh and far-reaching was the influence of the Men of Serampore, literary work was a main item in the programme of every mission, and every large and well-equipped station possessed its own printing-press. At that time, when there were so few printing establishments in India and when communication with England and America was so difficult, it was more necessary than it is to-day that each society should itself publish the works written by its

agents. Nowadays there are many printing houses in India. It is a comparatively easy matter to publish Indian books in the homeland, and the great literary auxiliary societies are also disposed to bring out any literature serviceable to the cause of missions. This being the case, one might think that the missionary societies would either throw overboard altogether or considerably lessen the unwieldy ballast of fully equipped printing houses, together with all their apparatus for bookbinding and so on. But such has by no means been the case; on the contrary, printing houses are to be numbered among those institutions which are rapidly being multiplied in the mission field, and for two reasons: in the first place, missionaries frequently require to print books in languages and dialects which as yet possess no literature of their own and which are wholly unknown outside a limited area. In such languages type-setting would be extremely difficult were it not undertaken by men speaking the language in question as their mother tongue, and proof-correcting would be laborious unless done by the missionary on the spot. This is the case with Munda, Oraon, Santali, Garo, the Naga dialects, Khassi, and many other languages and dialects. Secondly, it is an urgent necessity, owing to the exclusiveness of the caste system, for the various missions to find work for native Christians which, without making too great demands upon their strength, shall at the same time be congenial to them. And it is just such work as this of type-setting, printing, binding, etc., which affords welcome employment for those Christians who have been expelled from their former trades. At the present time there are forty-five mission printing-presses in India besides two in Burma and three in Ceylon.[1] Many of these are only small affairs which would only be maintained for a time in any case. But many are truly great undertakings. For example, in the year 1900 we find that there were then published by:—

The Printing House of the—	Vols.	Pages.
American Presbyterians, Allahabad	421,155	94,052,658
Methodist Episcopalians, Calcutta	140,586	50,603,576

[1] Many of the missionary societies kept up large printing establishments in former times but have withdrawn from that particular kind of work in more recent days. We have already mentioned the magnificent publishing department and printing house of the Serampore Trio. Extensive printing operations were also carried on for over forty years by the American Board at Bombay (1814–1868), at Manepy in the Jaffna district in North Ceylon (1834–1855), and at Madras (1834–1864), the first principally in Marathi, the two latter in Tamil. All three were at the same time large publishing houses and have rendered valuable service, particularly in the issue of Bibles. Since the important visitation of all the missions of the American Board by its Secretary, Dr. Rufus Anderson, these printing establishments have been given up. The large Madras business was sold to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

The Printing House of the—	Vols.	Pages.
Methodist Episcopalians, Lucknow .	. ?	6,000,000
,, ,, Madras .	. 282,918	nearly 36,000,000
Basle Missionary Society, Mangalore .	. 342,041	15,750,000
American Board at Pasumalai (Madura)	. ?	890,910
,, ,, Satara (Bombay) .	. 421,200	831,200
London Missionary Society at Nagercoil	. 466,475	3,368,396

The only great German missionary printing house is that of the Basle Missionary Society at Mangalore. The Church which lays the greatest stress on press activity is the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, whose three printing establishments are equipped with real magnificence and are conducted on truly model lines. Almost everywhere printing has to be carried on in several languages owing to the linguistic diversity of India. At the Calcutta printing house of the Baptist Missionary Society work is done in fifteen different languages, at the Madras branch of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge also in fifteen, at that of the Basle Missionary Society at Mangalore in eight. Many of these printing establishments can look back over a long period of usefulness: those of the American Baptists at Rangoon and the Wesleyan Methodists at Colombo were founded in 1816, that of the Baptist Missionary Society at Calcutta in 1818, that of the Church Missionary Society at Cottayam in 1821, that of the London Missionary Society at Nagercoil in 1832, that of the English General Baptists at Cuttack in 1838, that of the Basle Society at Mangalore in 1841, and that of the Irish Presbyterians at Surat was taken over from the London Missionary Society and had been started as early as 1816. A glance at the map will show that these older printing houses were distributed at fairly regular intervals over the more important missionary spheres that were then occupied.

This abundance of missionary printing houses not only permits of India's need for Bibles and Bible portions being almost entirely supplied in India itself, it also provides an opportunity for extensively developing a periodical press. Misled by the literary celebrity of this country of ancient culture and civilisation, a false impression has perhaps been received concerning the literacy of India. According to recent investigations, only 5·3 per cent. of the total population (*i.e.* 10 per cent. of the male population and only 0·7 per cent. of the female) can read and write. The figures are something under 15 millions out of 294⅓ millions. On the one hand, the literate classes monopolise the intellectual leadership and domination of the country to almost the same extent and with well-nigh the same exclusiveness as the literati of China. But, on the other hand, the number of readers is rapidly increasing. Nearly four

and a half million boys and girls now attend school in India. Further, it is a well-known fact that for the introduction of a new world of thought, for the effective presentation of a great system of intellectual development, periodicals are better adapted than single works, however brilliantly written the latter may be. Missions have therefore been compelled, on the principle of *gutta cavat lapidem*, to lay stress upon the exposition of the Christian conception of life, by means of regularly issued publications, for those Hindus and Muhammadans who can read. Moreover, there is a universal demand for periodicals in connection with the pastoral work of the several missions, the intellectual and spiritual training of native teachers, the supervision of the widely extended system of Christian associations, and many other forms of organisation. We have seen how the Men of Serampore made a start in this direction and how Duff followed in their steps. This periodical literature, like most of the departments which concern the surface work of missions and which are regarded purely as a means to an end, has been subject to many changes. Down to about the year 1850, missionaries controlled almost entirely the public press of India and made so strong an impression upon it that political papers in the ordinary sense of the word did not exist and the centre of public interest was focussed on the discussion of religious questions. Since that time so many influential journals and magazines have been brought into existence by Englishmen and natives alike that missionaries no longer maintain their position of leadership in this respect. Still, 147 of the 470 periodicals of India are even to-day missionary enterprises. We do not include in that number several magazines which are published principally for missionary circles; such are *Medical Missions in India* (Ajmer, since 1895), the *Indian Evangelical Review* (1873–1902), and the South Indian *Harvest Field* (issued by the Wesleyans in Mysore, since 1889). The rest may be divided into two great groups: those which are chiefly intended for heathen readers and which are designed to be the vehicles of the evangelical message and to leaven the heathen thought-world with Christian ideas; and those which are mainly destined for service within the Christian Church and its manifold corporate life. Probably a quarter of all the papers that are published appear either in English or partly in English and partly in vernacular—a striking proof of the importance of that ¾ per cent. of the population who understand English. By far the larger number of papers have only a relatively small number of readers; as far as it is possible to find out, there were in 1900 only twenty-seven of the 147

Christian journals with an edition of a thousand copies or over. At the head of the list stands the quarterly organ of the Sunday schools of India, *Sunday School Lessons and Helps*, published at Lucknow with a circulation of 7700 copies. Thereafter we find the four best-known and most influential journals: the *Epiphany*, issued by the Oxford Brotherhood in Calcutta (circulation 3000), the *Balshikahaks* of the Bombay Tract Society (circulation 3000), *Sattia Tudan* ("Messenger of Truth," issued by the Danish Mission at Madras, with a circulation of 3844 copies), and the much-spoken of (both in England and in India) Christian-Kanarese newspaper, *Vrittanta Patrika* or "Newsletter," published by the Wesleyan missionaries at Mysore and founded by that brilliant missionary Rev. Henry Haigh. The circulation is 4400. Very influential, too, in South India are the *Christian Patriot* (Madras), the organ of those South Indian Christians who are striving after independence; the *Sattiavarthamani*, the magazine of the American Madura Mission; and the *Mangalavasanam* of the American Reformed Arcot Mission. Of the papers published by German societies the most important is the *Satyadipike* of the Basle Mission, which appears six times a year at Mangalore and enjoys a circulation of 1150 copies. No less than forty-two of the missionary periodicals are issued in Calcutta—another evidence of the extent to which the education of the Bengalis, and particularly of the population round about Calcutta, surpasses that of the remaining inhabitants of India. Twenty-one more are published in Madras and thirteen in Bombay.

Here we should like to point out two particular directions in which evangelical missions have done special service. Barely a score of the hundred and forty-seven languages of India and Burma—ninety-two of which belong to the intricate Indo-Chinese group of languages and are almost exclusively spoken in Assam and Burma—had attained to the dignity of written languages when, at the beginning of last century, Protestant missions first took the field.[1] Even these languages had no prose literature and only a few of them a poetic literature, and nearly all, save perhaps Tamil, Telugu, and Hindi, were in a condition of the greatest literary destitution. For one ignorant of the languages of India and of their very involved history it is quite impossible to gain any adequate idea of the services rendered by missionaries in the renaissance of individual Indian tongues; we would only call to mind Carey and his work for

[1] The principal ones were Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi, Assamese, Urdu, Punjabi, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam, to which we may add Singhalese and Burmese.

Bengali, the creation of a modern literature in Hindi, and kindred performances. And to this we must add the number of languages and dialects which the missionaries for the first time raised to the dignity of written languages. It is an acknowledged fact that work in this direction has not always been guided by the best judgment. Especially was this the case with the Serampore Trio, whose burning desire to give the Word of God to all the Indian peoples in their own tongue led them to experiment with a number of languages which riper philological knowledge has rejected as dialects of secondary importance; such were Baghelkhandi, Bhatniri, Bikaniri, Haraoti, Kumaoni, Marwari, Jaipuri, Kanauji, Causali, Palpa, Dogri, Cutchi, Udaipuri, and Ujjaini. But, on the other hand, numerous languages were first opened up by missionaries, notably Sindhi among the Aryan languages. In 1849 the American Mission press at Bombay printed for the Government a Sindhi-English dictionary and a grammar. Commencing in 1854, Dr. Ernst Trumpp, of the Church Missionary Society and later Professor of Oriental Languages at Munich (*d.* 1885), made a scientific study of the Sindhi tongue and published at Government expense a dictionary, grammar, anthology, and a book of stories, all works of real value. Pashto also, the language of the neighbouring Afghans, has been raised to the status of a written language by missionaries. Among the Dravidian languages Malayalam owes its renaissance as a modern written language principally to missionaries of the Basle Society and the Church Missionary Society. Hermann Gundert, a brilliant philologist of the Basle Missionary Society, deserves special mention in this connection. His Malayalam-English dictionary, his grammar, anthology, and other minor works, underlie all our knowledge of that language. Other Basle missionaries have welded the Tulu, spoken in South Kanara, and the Badaga, spoken in the Blue Mountains, into literary shape, and rendered notable service in the Toda and Kota dialects. Of particular importance in the scientific opening up of the Tamil language were the famous *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or S. Indian Family of Languages* (1856; 2nd edition, 1875), by the Anglican bishop, Caldwell, and the *Bibliotheca tamulica*, by Dr. Graul, Director of the Leipzig Missionary Society (1854–1865, in 4 vols., the second of which is a Tamil grammar). The minor Dravidian languages of Central India were nearly all first made use of for literary purposes by missionaries: thus Dröse of Bhagalpur set to work in 1850 with the Malto of the Paharis in the Rajmahal Mountains; Ferdinand Hahn cultivated Kurukh, spoken by the Oraons of Chota Nagpur; Dawson (U.F.C.) the intricate Gond dialects, and Williamson (C.M.S.) the Koi

language, etc. The tongues and dialects of the Munda language group have been almost entirely reduced to writing by missionaries: Munda itself by Dr. Nottrott, Santali by Messrs. Skrefsrud and Börresen, and more recently Kurku (Bihar) by members of the Kurku and Central India Hill Tribes Mission. In similar wise the tongues and dialects of the Indo-Chinese group, of which only Burmese possesses an ancient literature, are gradually being reduced to writing and provided with grammars and dictionaries by the labours of English and American missionaries; such are Khassi, Garo, the Naga dialects, Karen, Shan, etc. A leading place in this work has been taken by missionaries of the American Baptist Society. Also in the language of the Central Nicobarese the sole book in existence is the translation of the four Gospels made by the Herrnhut Brethren (1768–1788).

Just as the demands of their everyday work have forced the missionaries to adapt one language after another to literary purposes and to prepare the way for their colleagues and successors by the compilation of grammars, readers, and dictionaries, so in exactly similar fashion has a deeper realisation of missionary duty led missionaries and their supporters to a thorough and scientific study of the Indian people, their castes and their religions. For intimate knowledge of Indian life and manners, the sole authority for half a century was the great work by Wm. Ward of Serampore, *A View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos*, etc. (2 vols. 2nd edition, 1818). The two best compilations on caste are *Hindu Castes and Tribes as represented in Benares* (London, 1872), by Rev. M. A. Sherring, M.A., of the London Missionary Society; and the work of Dr. Wilson of Bombay) Free Church of Scotland), which, after arriving at its second volume, was unfortunately left uncompleted. Scientific presentation of the Hindu religion in comparison with Christianity was for a long time a most distinct want, and it was by no means atoned for by the comprehensive literature of controversial tracts that gradually came into existence. For a long time the best works of reference were James Vaughan's *Trident, Crescent, and Cross, a View of the Religious History of India* (London, 1876; Vaughan was a Church Missionary Society's missionary in Calcutta), and the work of Pundit Nehemiah Goreh entitled *A Rational Refutation of the Hindu Philosophical Systems*, which was written in Hindi but translated into English by F. E. Hall (Calcutta, 1862); the title of the Hindi work is *Shadharshana Darpana*. In this connection the Missionary Conference of Saxony has rendered good service by a prize scheme drawn up in 1898 for "A description of the religious and philosophical

conceptions of the Hindus . . . and a criticism of the same from the Christian standpoint." Eight competitors submitted essays upon this difficult theme, and the prize was awarded for the brilliant book of Wilhelm Dilger (Basle Missionary Society), *Die Erlösung des Menschen nach Hinduismus und Christentum* (Basle, 1902). Highly commended were the treatises of P. Kreyher, *Die Weisheit der Brahmanen und das Christentum* (Gütersloh, 1901), and Julius Happel, *Die religiösen und philosophischen Grundanschauungen der Inder* (Giessen, 1901). Another of the theses afterwards published was that of the Rev. T. E. Slater (London Missionary Society), *The Higher Hinduism in Relation to Christianity* (London, 1902); this work found many grateful readers in English missionary circles. Thus did the prize scheme of Saxony materially assist one of the most difficult tasks connected with the Indian missionary literature. A thorough study of Zoroastrianism was made by Dr. John Wilson Bombay in his valuable book *The Parsi religion . . . unfolded, refuted, and contrasted with Christianity* (1840). Concerning Muhammadanism there has existed for a long time a considerable polemic literature in Urdu, of which Pfander's *Mizan al haqq* (Roads to the Truth), *Miftah al Asrar* (Key of the Secrets), and *Tariq al hayyat* (the Way of Life) are particularly noteworthy, the first especially having been translated into many different languages. To provide missionaries with weapons in their difficult spiritual warfare with Islam, Sir Wm. Muir, the learned and pious ruler of the North-Western Provinces and later Principal of Edinburgh University, wrote a *Life of Mahomet* in four volumes. In more recent times a number of the Church Missionary Society's agents have distinguished themselves in this connection; thus Canon Sell, Missionary Secretary of the Society at Madras, wrote *The Faith of Islam* (1st edition, 1880; 2nd, 1896) and *Essays on Islam* (1901), the latter being a collection of essays on the history and teaching of Islam. The writings of Rev. St. Clair Tisdall, Church Missionary Society's missionary in Persia, are also much read and widely circulated in India.

It may be thought, after reading the foregoing account, that the literary side of Indian missionary work is one that is particularly well equipped and effective, and that the coming generation will find very little left for them to do in this department. This would be unfortunately a completely false idea. Perhaps we may be allowed to quote a résumé of this subject which was laid[1] before the secretaries of the great English Missionary Societies in 1895 by the Rev. E. P. Rice of the London Missionary Society: "Christian literature in

[1] Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, vol. ii. p. 291 *et seq.*

India is inadequate, both as to quantity and quality. An erroneous idea is prevalent as to the amount and value of the Christian literature already existing in India. Much of the literary work done by missionaries consists of grammars, dictionaries, and similar works which, though invaluable aids to the missionary, are no part of vernacular literature. Another portion consists of school books of a purely secular character, which might have been prepared as well by non-Christians as by Christians, and which are indeed being now very largely replaced by Government and Hindu publications. These must all be eliminated. Then again, of the literature now being produced by the Christian publishing societies of India, the great bulk is in the English language. This no doubt is of great value, as it reaches many of the most influential classes; but still it can only touch a minute percentage of the whole population of India; it leaves untouched the masses of the people who for many a long day yet must be dependent upon the vernacular for instruction. Setting aside all these, the amount and effective value of the vernacular Christian literature, properly so-called, is extremely scanty. It consists largely of tiny tractlets which sell for a farthing or less each. These may be classified as good, bad, and indifferent. In any case they cannot in such small compass deal thoroughly with the questions which they touch. Moreover, of those tracts which are most satisfactorily done, a large proportion are negative and iconoclastic in character, pointing out the imperfection of Hindu doctrine and practice—a comparatively easy task.[1] On the side of positive instruction and the exposition and enforcement of Christian ideals we are very poorly off.

"Of the larger works, the majority and the best appeal solely to native Christian readers, and do not in the slightest degree touch the non-Christian community. Moreover, many of these are translations, and no translation, however excellent, is capable of affecting deeply a Hindu mind or touching and stirring a Hindu heart. Even the *Pilgrim's Progress*, which is one of the most suitable books for translation, and of which we possess excellent versions, moves in an atmosphere of thought so thoroughly foreign and so thoroughly Christian, that it does not commend itself to a Hindu until he has entered the Christian Church. Passing from the amount of available literature to its effective value, the result of impartial inquiry is even less satisfactory."

[1] During the first half of the nineteenth century missionaries displayed great learning and dialectic skill in mercilessly laying bare the gaps and contradictions that existed in Hinduism and Hindu mythology—not always in the mild spirit of Paul's sermon as recorded in Acts xvii. This particular kind of literature practically left no pregnable points unattacked, and is therefore relatively complete.

The Rev. Henry Haigh, Wesleyan missionary in Mysore, labours precisely the same point when he writes: "Such vernacular literature as we have for our Christian Churches is simply English literature—done more or less idiomatically into the vernacular, and always with much loss of meaning and suggestiveness. In form and spirit, in everything but words, it is English. And this is what our people have to feed upon. Those who are baptized as children, and have a long training in our schools, gain some conception of the meaning of our books. That is, they are really receiving an English training through the medium of the vernacular. But they are by that very means made strangers and foreigners to their Hindu brethren. There are no points of approach between them. . . . The Christian Church of India is in great danger of having a language of its own. We may call it the language of Canaan if we please, but it is only English metamorphosed and sadly attenuated in the process. . . . This is a real danger, as those can testify who have watched the methods and listened to the discoveries of many of our native brethren. After long experience, I am bound to say that those discourses are generally almost as foreign as anything an Englishman with only ordinary powers of adaptation would inevitably deliver."

That is keen criticism; but it comes from so authoritative a quarter that there must be some truth in it. Similar impressions and experiences have been laid before the last two great Missionary Conferences at Madras (1900 and 1902), and have caused them to devote more extensive, and above all, more systematic attention to the promotion of literary work in the service of missions. The whole of India has been divided into nineteen language spheres, and in each of these a language committee has been appointed, whose duties are carefully to examine the literature already existing in the various languages spoken within that sphere, to collect that which is good, and to arrange for the production of healthy and appropriate literature in larger quantities. The custom recently adopted by several societies of dedicating competent men of literary gifts exclusively to literary labours—a step emphatically recommended by the Bombay Missionary Conference in 1892, and still more by that at Madras in 1902—all tends in the same direction. Thus the American Baptists have set apart Dr. McLaurin exclusively for literary work in Telugu; the English Baptists, Rev. Dr. Rouse for Bengali; the Wesleyans, Rev. E. W. Thompson for Kanarese; and the Church Missionary Society, Dr. H. U. Weitbrecht for Urdu.

4. THE MISSION SCHOOL

In connection with the life-work of the Scotsman, Alexander Duff, we have traced the development of the Anglo-Indian educational policy down to the year 1854. The Educational Dispatch of Sir Chas. Wood in that year was the foundation and *point de départ* for a Government educational system on a large scale. Two great tasks were before the Government, to erect elementary schools all over the land for the illiterate childhood of India, which was to be numbered by millions, and to bring the High School system already in existence under its own control, to give it uniformity, and systematically to develop it. During the first period (1854–1882), the Government concentrated its undivided attention upon the High School system. By means of handsome grants it succeeded in a comparatively short space of time in forming into one system all the Middle and High Schools above the lower secondary schools (cf. p. 181). And as it made admission to the eagerly desired posts in Government service depend on the examinations which were now instituted, it soon became an impossibility for any High School to exist which did not prepare pupils for these examinations. In one point the Government went beyond the intention of the fundamental law of 1854. The original idea had been that the Government should only take part in the higher education of the country by assuming complete oversight and control; only in the most exceptional cases was it to found its own schools. The Government, however, soon struck out a new path. To improve the school system, it erected everywhere model schools, which were to serve as patterns, both in management and in results, to the other schools of the locality. In districts where schools were slow to link themselves on to the general system, Government schools were built, and the tardy were thereby compelled to submit. In minor details the school system in each great province was distinct and peculiar; each Presidency had its own ideas and ideals. Room does not allow of our enlarging upon these points of difference. But on the whole it is undeniable that a great change for the better was instituted throughout the educational world of India. School attendance became more regular, higher qualifications were demanded of the teachers, the performances of the scholars showed much greater regularity and solidity. Also the number of schools rapidly increased, and the great Government grants, which covered from one-third to one-half of the entire costs of equipment and upkeep, emboldened small townships, companies, and even

private persons, to open new schools. Moreover, there were now fixed standards of work throughout the whole country by which school results of every kind could be appraised with certainty.

We cannot, however, pass over the fact that there were great disadvantages bound up with the new school system. Whereas in the first few years the Government preferred to appoint missionaries as inspectors of schools, yet later on, and especially after the great Mutiny of 1857, it turned its back almost entirely upon them, no doubt out of exaggerated religious neutrality, and chose with predilection Englishmen indifferent to religion or non-Christian Brahmans for these positions. As the yearly grants—the hinge on which the new system turned—depended on the result of the annual visitations and examinations conducted by these gentlemen, it came about that mission schools, for instance, were often in a state of very undesirable dependence on the goodwill or the good temper of officials who were antagonistic to missions. How much caprice and party spirit it was possible to exercise in the conducting of examinations, the inspection of school buildings, and the criticism of the school staff! How much vexation and worry were thereby set in motion! Since the examinations were the most important thing of all to the authorities, for through them alone they kept their hold upon the school, and since they were also most important of all to the scholars,—for they were the gates of entry to every position under the Government,—it came about that undue weight was attached to preparation for them. Teaching was more and more in danger of becoming a mere barren examination drill, and the more so when, for instance, in the Madras Presidency a fresh Government examination had to be taken on an average every second school-year. English schools are naturally disposed to lay too much emphasis on "text-books," but in India at this time they became a perfect plague! With their phenomenal memories the Hindus would learn entire text-books by heart for their examinations, without taking the slightest pains to understand them or mentally to assimilate them. And it was also a direct consequence of the uniformity aimed at by the Government—a consequence that also worked remarkably for the convenience of the inspectors!—that the text-books recommended by those in authority were introduced practically everywhere; these text-books were for the most part neutral as to religion even, if not directly antagonistic to Christianity, and their introduction simply meant that the books compiled at great pains by the missionaries were crowded out of existence. The net result was a tremendous increase in the number of scholars and in good examination results, but on the other hand an almost complete lack of independent mental

effort, a superficial self-satisfied arrogant head knowledge without real education—a state of things of which a Bengal Babu was the perfect type.

These abuses caused the Government, during the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, to appoint a Commission in the year 1882 to ascertain what progress had been made and what results obtained from the Indian school system. A most experienced Anglo-Indian, Sir William Hunter, presided over the Commission, which consisted of twenty members, of whom three were missionaries—Dr. Miller, of the Free Church of Scotland, and Principal of the great Christian College at Madras, Rev. W. B. Blackett of the Church Missionary Society, and a Roman Catholic missionary. Its proceedings and report were published in nine folio volumes in the year 1884. The main result was a change of front in the educational policy of the Government; it now turned its attention to the second great task, hitherto neglected, the fostering and development of the Elementary school system. Native and missionary elementary schools were to be recognised and assisted more than ever before. The education of girls, which had previously been almost wholly neglected, was brought into the foreground. Special attention was to be given to the lower classes and races, to whom the new school system meant most. (It was the hill-folk and the outcasts with whom the missionaries mainly had to do.) The ruling idea was to develop the teaching already carried on by the State into a truly national system of education for all India. Such are the characteristics of the second period, 1882–1902.

There had always existed elementary schools in India. They were of three types. First we have the "Patashalas," which are principally to be found in Bengal and in some parts of the Presidency of Madras (*e.g.* in the Tanjore District); they are intended for the boys of those castes who are compelled by their profession to acquire a knowledge of reading and writing—the Brahman, merchant, and writer castes. Their teaching is generally confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic. Another great group of native elementary schools are the "Koran Purana," or "Learning by Heart" schools, which are chiefly in the Punjab, but are also found in several other parts of India, in Bengal and Malabar for instance; in these the principal task is the giving out of sections of the Arabic Koran (for Muhammadans) or from the Puranas (for Hindus) to be learnt by heart, and apart from this they do practically no teaching; they number well-nigh as many girls as boys amongst their scholars. According to the Government Census of 1891, there were 154,500 scholars attending the "Koran Purana" schools and about 809,000 the Patashalas.

A third great section of native schools are the monastery schools of Burma. Every young Burman is compelled to pass a number of years at school as a kyaungtha (disciple) with the monks (pongyi) in the nearest monastery; these schools have been so successful that 37 per cent. of the male population can both read and write, *i.e.* about as many as in Italy, which has 37 per cent., or Hungary, which has 40 per cent. Besides these, Mission Schools have been founded in connection with every mission station in India; in 1881 there were 3020 such schools, with 84,760 scholars. It will be seen, therefore, that something had already been done in respect of elementary education, but what was this at the best in comparison with the tremendous number of children fast growing up in the length and breadth of India?

In different parts of the country different steps were taken by the Government as they sought to establish a national school system. In the Bombay Presidency the native schools were set on one side, and a vast educational system created and staffed at Government expense; the consequence was that any existing native schools were completely absorbed. On the other hand, in the Madras Presidency only thirty of the 24,327 elementary schools are maintained by the educational authorities, and this important branch of work is left almost exclusively in the hands of communities, missionary societies, and private individuals. In Bengal, the Punjab, and some other Provinces, the Government endeavoured to co-operate with the native schools already in existence, however faulty those latter might be, to bring them under its own influence and to develop them as a whole—an aim it has since accomplished. This is not the place to discuss the pros and cons of the various methods adopted. We shall only adduce figures to demonstrate the growth and extent of education in India at the present day. In 1881 there were ten and a half million males and 432,500 females who could read and write. In 1891 the number had increased to 13,400,000 males and 590,000 females. Of this latter number, 11,300,000 males and 476,000 females were over fifteen years of age. For 1901 the corresponding numbers of "educated" persons of over fifteen years of age are twelve and a half million males and three quarters of a million females, and according to the statistics of the educational authorities there are 2,129,000 scholars under fifteen years of age. In 1877 there were only 66,202 schools with 1,877,942 scholars; in 1891, 137,944 schools with 3,677,912, or according to another census with 3,368,930 scholars; in 1901, however, there were 147,086 schools and 4,405,042 scholars.[1] For the maintenance of this

[1] Whilst recognising all that has been done in this direction, let us not, however, forget the other side of the picture. Even to-day the greater part of the youth of

enormous educational work, 4,700,000 rupees were paid out by the Government in 1891, whilst in 1901 5,900,000 rupees were paid. The entire cost of the work was estimated, for 1891 at 9,125,000 rupees, and in 1901 at 11,500,000 rupees. Thus the Government pays out of its own pocket almost one half of the entire sum, for the most part in the shape of "Grants in Aid."

In the year 1901 another great Commission on Education sat, and subjected the whole Indian university system to a thorough investigation. The most important of its findings were embodied in the Universities Bill of March 21st, 1903, which passed into law in 1904. The root idea of this measure is to map out the academic training of the youth of India on a more thorough and systematic basis. The standard of the various examinations is therefore raised even at the risk of lessening the number of students. Great weight is laid on an adequate provision of teaching apparatus, on well-chosen college libraries, on laboratories, and on objects and apparatus necessary for the teaching of natural science. Above everything, however, stress is laid on the duty of the staff taking a real interest in the life and occupations of the scholars out of school hours. An effort is being made in this connection to gather all non-resident students into hostels which are organically united with the colleges, and are placed under the care of the teachers. Further, a clear distinction is made between University and

India is growing up without any schooling whatever. Reckoning the children of school-going age at 15 per cent. of the entire population (as a matter of fact, children between five and fifteen compose 26 per cent. of it), there were, in 1901, five and three-quarter million such children in the Madras Presidency; of these only 861,461 attended any kind of school, and the Madras Presidency, with the exception of Burma and the Central Districts of Bengal, is that part of the country which has the most complete educational equipment. Scarcely one-thirteenth of the children of school age in India at the present time attend school (Rev. A. Andrew, *The Uneducated Children of the (Madras) Presidency*, Madras, 1904). If we divide the population of India into two great classes, the illiterates and those who have attended some kind of school and have learnt something, there are in—

	Illiterates.	Literates.
Bengal	70,550,531	4,194,335
United Provinces	46,212,917	1,478,865
Madras	35,803,347	2,406,089
Punjab	21,598,716	857,103
Bombay	17,383,545	1,176,016
Central Provinces	9,582,098	294,548
Assam	5,903,957	222,386
Burma	8,139,651	2,223,962
Birar	2,630,700	123,316
Ajmer	444,824	32,088
Coorg	166,540	14,067
	218,416,826	13,022,775

There is thus a great deal to be done still in connection with the elementary schools of the country.

[illegible]

[illegible] It seemed to be the best solution of the difficulty for the two to pursue their schemes amicably but separately, and for the missionaries to endeavour to render their school system independent and up-to-date. The Basle Missionary Society after a short lived enthusiasm for the new Government scheme, which was shared at that time by nearly all the Societies, was the first to take action along these lines. In [illegible] it severed its connection with the Government system, and reorganized its schools along its own lines. The results were overwhelming. On entering upon this new policy the

Basle Society had hoped, perhaps in too sanguine a fashion, to gain possession of the whole school system in the provinces where it laboured. But instead of this the Government wrested from them the direction of all things educational, even in the midst of their main spheres of activity, Kanara and Malabar. First of all, the English school at Cannanore had to be given up because the Government had erected a similar one in the same place (1861). Then at the English school in Kanara there were not enough missionaries who, in addition to the ordinary school subjects, were sufficiently masters of English language and literature to satisfy the demands of the Government for a provincial school of this type. The English school at Calicut was simply crushed out of existence, owing to an elaborate school plant set down by the Government in the immediate neighbourhood. In the native schools such thoroughgoing reforms were insisted upon, that of 1450 scholars in 1862, only 648 remained in 1866. In 1867 the missionaries sent an urgent request to the Missionary Committee asking for re-union with the Government educational system, and the committee complied, though with heavy hearts, in order that the missionaries might not be driven to the wall, and robbed of all influence upon the rising generation. Thus an educational scheme apart from that of the Government was proved an impossibility; against such rivalry it was unable to hold one's own.

Now whether is it better, from a missionary point of view, to limit mission school education to the needs of the native Christian community, or to use the large Government grants as a lever by which schools may be so developed as to give missionaries a commanding influence over the scholars who pass through them? Mark well! The point at issue is not whether missions should keep up sufficient schools to meet the needs of the native Christian community. That is a matter on which there has never been any serious difference of opinion. The question is, whether missions should establish elementary and secondary schools for the non-Christian youth of India in order through them to disseminate Christian knowledge amongst the heathen masses of the people. No branch of mission work has caused such heated debate as this of schools for heathen children. At the Decennial Missionary Conferences at Allahabad in 1872, at Calcutta in 1882, at Bombay in 1892,[1] and at the South India Conference at Bangalore in 1879, it invariably led to animated and often to elaborate discussion. It was of special moment that the great Missionary Secretary of the American Board, Rufus Anderson, and his entire Society,

[1] *Allgem. Miss. Zeit.*, pp. 75, 434, 481; *Basle Miss. Mag.*, 1893, p. 391.

and along with them the English Baptist Missionary Society, should cast their entire weight into the balance against the maintenance of an extensive system of schools for heathen children. What arguments did these opponents advance? "School teaching is not missionary work." "It is no duty of the home churches at their own cost to spread higher education among any people whatsoever, save in so far as their immediate *raison d'être*, the propagation of the gospel, is advanced thereby."[1] Missions have neither a call nor a mandate to teach English literature, history, mathematics, or natural science. The preaching of the gospel to the heathen and the exercise of pastoral care over the native churches is so clearly the head and front of all missionary labour that everything must be considered as pure ἀλλότριον which does not directly further this end. Any union between the State and Missions can only be to the detriment of the latter; it is used by the stronger partner, the State, simply as an auxiliary to the attainment of its own ends, some of which are alien to the objects of missions, and some of which are indeed antagonistic to those objects. The inspection of mission schools by heathen inspectors, the introduction of text-books utterly incompatible with the standpoint of missions, the regulations with regard to the teaching staff, school buildings, the school inventory, school hours, etc., place missions at the mercy or the caprice of their opponents. Besides, the whole thing is like a screw with an endless worm; at one time an order will be issued making all religious instruction optional, and only to be given out of ordinary school hours (Educational Dispatch, 1885, in the North-Western Provinces, withdrawn after pressure from missionary circles); at another, it will be decreed that all the subjects that are under Government inspection must be taught during the first five hours of every day, whilst religious teaching must, if at all, be taken during a sixth hour, when all the strength and power of attention on the part of the children is exhausted (Travancore, 1902). It is a delusion and a snare, in an educational system the whole efforts of which are directed towards examination drill and towards the acquirement by the scholars of a parrot-like facility in chattering English, for missionaries to hope to accomplish anything of value in imparting Christian knowledge —a subject that is of no use in the examination. The scholars tolerate the period set apart for Christian religious teaching, often unwillingly making the best of it as a kind of bad bargain because they have a better chance of passing the State examinations in a mission school, or because the fees of the mission school are lower than those of the competing Government

[1] Rufus Anderson.

establishment. But it is unworthy of missions to use good teaching in secular subjects for an examination as a decoy by which to entice, for purposes of religious instruction, that portion of the youth of the country which hungers after knowledge. And the results of mission schools, as regards the number of baptisms, bear no sort of comparison with the means and strength employed; many mission schools are unable to record one case of baptism in an entire decade. And further, what could this élite of highly trained missionaries, who alone can be employed in educational mission work, in that case accomplish along the lines of direct missionary work? Precisely the most gifted amongst them are confined to close and stuffy schoolrooms, and both intellectually and spiritually are becoming atrophied under the mechanical school grind, whilst away outside, far across the thickly populated tracts of land, millions are dying without having once heard the good tidings of great joy!

These are indeed weighty considerations, and they deserve all the more attention, since it is incontrovertible that they have at any rate a relative justification. But let us also hear the arguments of the educational missionaries! They admit, it is true, that the positive results of mission schools, as far as baptisms are concerned, are lamentably small during the time the children remain at school. This is, however, inevitable, because the missionaries have to do only with children in the schools, and they are not so foolish or stupid as to attempt to persuade youngsters to embrace Christianity, a step the result of which they are as yet unable fully to realise. But if to the small number of those baptized whilst attending school, there be added those who received in school their first impulse towards a fundamental knowledge of Christianity, but who have only been baptized later in life, mission schools will be found to lag behind no branch of the work in practical results, except the missions to the lowest strata of the people and to the aborigines, with which, very justly, they cannot be compared. And this comparatively small number of converts, won directly or indirectly through mission schools, are the very crown and rejoicing of Indian missions, the most brilliant representatives and pillars of the Christian Church, the leading spirits in the ever-increasing body of Indian Christians. They are the officers of the main army, which is composed of members belonging to the lower orders of society. Certainly regulations and inspections at the hands of indifferent or antagonistic Government officials are inconvenient, but they can be kept within bounds by the strong influence missions are able to exert in the world of education, both by means of their extensive school system and the magnificent results they obtain. It

was a matter of the highest consequence that Duff had a hand in shaping the famous Educational Dispatch of 1854, that missionaries sat on both the great Royal Commissions upon education in 1882 and 1901, and that missionaries are members of the Senates of all the Indian universities. That, comparatively speaking, the conditions under which mission schools are carried on in India are considerably more favourable than in the English colonies of South Africa, is purely a result of the labours of the great educational missionaries. From the remotest times India has been dominated by a little body of scholars which was in former years recruited exclusively from the Brahman and kindred classes of society. To-day this dominating body, in whose hands lies the government and the future of India, is composed of the graduates of the Indian colleges, and any one who wishes to exercise an influence upon the future of the country must first win over these men.

Now the educational authorities of the country are, religiously speaking, neutral; religion is taught in none of the schools they have erected. The result of non-religious instruction in India is, in almost every case, that a young man loses all belief in the creed of his fathers, but receives no new faith; and under these circumstances the majority of those who have been through the schools and colleges drift into agnosticism or materialism, and lead a disordered and profitless life. If this spreading desolation is to be fought against, it can only be (save for isolated attempts on the part of both Hindu and Muhammadan reformers to erect colleges on a basis of their respective beliefs) by the education of a very large number of the future leaders of the country in a specifically Christian atmosphere, and by permeating them through and through with Christian conceptions and ideals. And even if it be unfortunately true that the periods for religious instruction, which is not made an examination subject, are looked upon by many scholars as a necessary evil, yet on the other hand it ought not to be forgotten that the Hindu nature is so essentially religious, that it is a comparatively easy thing to create a deep interest in these young men for religious questions; and nearly all educational missionaries can tell of truly hallowed hours spent in the midst of these unconverted young men, who hang upon every word that issues from their lips. Besides, thanks largely to educational missions, a fairly accurate acquaintance with the Christian religion and the Bible have come to be quite an essential in good society; and this, too, contributes towards gaining the attention of scholars during religious instruction.

Four general considerations, however, preponderate in favour

of mission schools. A new day has dawned for India. The people clamour for education, and missions cannot repress their demand, even if they would. Shall missions keep themselves to themselves and leave this new development to itself, or shall they enter the lists, make themselves masters of the movement, and use it as an instrument in their task of Christianising the whole land?

One conviction forces itself at every step upon the itinerant and bazaar preacher in India, and it is this—that the Hindu mind is so intricately and inseparably bound up with its pantheistic conceptions, its abtruse theologumena and its subtle philosophical systems, that it is unspeakably difficult to bridge over the gulf betwixt these things on the one side and a deeper understanding of the Christian view of life and evangelical truth on the other. Now the schools offer an opportunity, such as can be found nowhere else, of introducing step by step to a knowledge of the Bible just those intellectually gifted souls who are most open to receive truth and knowledge, and of teaching them to regard God and the world from a Christian standpoint. This is preparatory and pioneer work of incomparable value, and such systematic elementary grounding at the most susceptible age exercises an abiding influence on the rising generation which no other branch of missionary labour can possibly exert. Further, a flood of Western thought in science, in art, and in mechanical appliances is now unceasingly streaming in through the open doors of India. The Indian Government is well aware that it can only attach India in perpetuity to itself, it can only become one with India by establishing an intellectual communion between England and India, or, in other words, by transplanting the intellectual life of England to India, as far as possible in its entirety. The schools are the channels by which this remarkable fusion is to be brought about. Now it is of the highest importance for the future of missionary work in India that Christianity assert itself in the eyes of the Indian peoples as the intellectual force *par excellence*, the foundation and animating energy of all European civilisation. And that can only be done by maintaining the very best schools in India, and by teaching in them with force and inspiration that the Christian conception of life is the only scientific as well as the only satisfactory one. Finally, if the object of missions is really to make the peoples of India the disciples of Jesus Christ, it is impossible to rest content with those branches of work which experience has proved fruitful only among the lower classes of the people. A century's experience confirms the fact that missionary preaching, both in town and country, only touches the middle classes of the

people sporadically and the highest classes almost not at all. The only means of access as yet discovered to these classes are educational missions and, more recently, zenana missions. On account of the enormous difficulties that present themselves to hinder the conversion of any Hindu belonging to these higher classes, it is improbable that there will be any large influx from their circles within the immediate future. All the more important is it, therefore, that pioneer work should be done by spreading Christian thought in such circles, and by producing in their midst a favourable attitude towards Christianity. Only thus will it be possible to overcome the deeply rooted prejudice of these classes of the people, and to make easier the adhesion of succeeding generations to the Christian Church.

In conclusion, we may add that no Missionary Conference in India has been able to deny the weight of these arguments. The outcome of their deliberations has always been in favour of mission schools. We have already mentioned that the English Baptists and the American Board, after the official visit of their missionary secretaries in 1854 and 1855, gave up their schools for heathen children and limited themselves to such schools as were necessary for the children of their adherents. But the American Board soon saw that it had made a great mistake, and it has gradually built up a fresh educational system on its own lines. The English Baptists have not come to the same determination; amongst the great Missionary Societies at work in India they stand alone in their opposition to higher education. All the other Societies have made a virtue of necessity and have incorporated their educational system with that of the Government, and thus promoted their further development. To what an extent and on what lines this has been done can only be shown in a sketch of each separate Society's work. We shall here content ourselves with giving a few details and some general statistics. In India, excluding Ceylon, there are one hundred and forty-one colleges,[1] besides forty-four special faculties for law, medicine, art, electrical engineering, etc., which of course do not come within the purview of missions. Of these 141, Protestant missions claim 44, or over 25 per cent.[2] It is interesting to

[1] For the total number of colleges the only information at our disposal is the *Census Report* of 1901. The number has slightly increased since then. So far as reliable details were obtainable, we have rectified the figures for missionary colleges from the most recent yearly reports.

[2] Their colleges, which are academical institutions of university rank, form so remarkable a portion of Indian missionary activity as to merit our special consideration. But the very statistics to which we are forced to refer in this connection demonstrate with what extreme care even the best statistics upon separate branches of missionary work must be used. There are two tables of statistics at our disposal. Dennis, in his *Statistical Survey* (p. 70),

notice how the missionary colleges are distributed over the Indian provinces; this is a fairly reliable test of the extent of missionary labour in the various districts. In the Bombay Presidency there is only one, the Wilson College at Bombay. In the Punjab there are six—under the American Presbyterians at Lahore, under the Church Missionary Society at Amritsar, under the S.P.G. at Delhi, under the Established Church of Scotland at Sialkot, under the Church Missionary Society

enumerates thirty-four colleges with 22,084 students. The *Decennial Missionary Statistics* give thirty colleges and 8887 students. But Dennis leaves out the C.M.S. College Class at Calcutta, the L.M.S. St. Andrew's College at Gorakhpur, the C.M.S. College at Amritsar, the S.P.G. College at Hazaribagh, and wrongly reckons as colleges the English B.M.S. College at Serampore, which is a theological seminary, and the American Methodist Episcopal Institute in Calcutta. On the other hand, the *Decennial Statistics* omit both the "Women's" College at Lucknow (Methodist Episcopal) and that at Palamcottah (C.M.S.), the Bishop's College at Calcutta (S.P.G.), the Ramsay College at Almora (L.M.S.), and the Colleges of the L.M.S. at Nagercoil, of the C.M.S. at Cottayam, of the American Baptists at Ongole, and of the Lutheran General Synod at Guntur. With the necessary additions and subtractions, and the number of colleges built since 1901, we arrive at the total of forty colleges given in the text. It must be remembered that the word "college" has a wide range of meaning in England and America, and has come to be applied to all higher schools; pains must therefore be taken in investigations such as the present to differentiate those which are "colleges" in the technical sense of the term, and with which we are now solely concerned. But there is still greater confusion with regard to the number of students. Nearly all these Indian colleges are part and parcel of more or less highly developed educational systems; for the most part the schools are found under the same roof as the college, and the pupils are passed on from the lower section to the higher. Now both the above-mentioned tables mix up the actual college students with the scholars attending the High Schools and other similar establishments, though in a different way, and in a manner which it is only partly possible to check. To determine the number of actual students we must depend on the reports of the Missionary Societies, and as these reports often fail for years together to record the numbers for the separate sections of the schools, we are compelled to turn back until we can find the numbers actually stated. The table we have thus obtained is necessarily incorrect, since it contains statistics covering five years, some of which have only been obtained by calculation based on analogy. However, it comes as near to the actual fact as the available sources of information render possible. According to this table then, the forty missionary colleges have in all about 5930 students. Amongst Protestant societies engaged in this higher educational work the leading position is taken by the Scotch, its inspired founders. They have, it is true, only seven colleges,—four belonging to the United Free Church, and three to the Church of Scotland—but these seven Scotch Colleges have on their roll 3100 students, more than half the total for all the Societies. Their great rival is the C.M.S., which possesses eight colleges, a large number for a single Society; and then comes the S.P.G. with six colleges. Far and away the largest and most influential are the Christian College of the United Free Church at Madras, with 800 students, and the General Assembly's Institution (belonging to the Church of Scotland) at Calcutta, with 750 students. The principal of the former, Dr. Miller, who has accomplished so much for Indian education, is at the present time the most famous educational missionary in India, a man whose vote has as much weight on the Madras Legislative Council or on the Senate of the Madras University as in the great Missionary Conferences. The Government has conferred high distinctions upon him, his own Church has given him the greatest honour in its power by electing him Moderator of its General Assembly, and his grateful students have erected a bronze statue in his honour during his lifetime.

at Peshawar, and under the American United Presbyterians,[1] at Rawalpindi. In Central India there are two—that of the Canadian Presbyterians at Indore, and that of the United Free Church of Scotland at Nagpur, Central Provinces. In the United Provinces there are seven—those of the Church Missionary Society at Agra and Gorakhpur, of the S.P.G. at Cawnpore, of the London Missionary Society at Almora, of the Methodist Episcopal Church (for both men and women) at Lucknow, and one still in the making at Allahabad, which has been used for purposes of higher education since 1902 in connection with the Jumna Missionary High School of the American Presbyterians. In Bengal there are six—four in Calcutta (S.P.G., L.M.S., the United College of the Established Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland, and the C.M.S. College Class), one at Hazaribagh (the College of the Dublin Brotherhood), and that of the Wesleyan Methodists at Bankura. The remaining seventeen are all in the Madras Presidency.[2] Of the 16,703 students in the 141 colleges of India, 5930, or 35 per cent. of the whole, are in the 40 missionary colleges. That is sufficient to show what an important factor in the Indian academic world the educational work of missions occupies. Of the 5461 secondary schools of all grades (High, Lower Secondary, Anglo-Vernacular, etc.) with 586,628 scholars, 309 are mission schools with 41,209 pupils, and of 98,133 elementary schools with 3,150,000 scholars, evangelical missions are responsible for 5529 with 152,442 scholars on their books. It has been calculated that the pupils of the mission schools compose:—

35 per cent. of all the students in colleges (technical and professional colleges excepted).
10 per cent. of those who matriculate from the high schools to the colleges.
20 ,, of those who take the first academical examination (F.A.).
25 ,, of those who take the principal ,, ,, (B.A.).
16 ,, ,, highest ,, ,, (M.A.).
25 ,, of the scholars attending primary schools for boys.
15 ,, ,, ,, ,, for girls.
50 ,, ,, ,, boys' boarding schools.
100 ,, ,, ,, girls' boarding schools.[3]

[1] Also the famous Educational Institute for Girls of the American Presbyterians at Dehra Dun now has University classes up to the F.A. examination.

[2] At Bellary (L.M.S.), Cottayam (C.M.S.), Guntur (American Lutheran General Synod), Madras (the Christian College and those of the C.M.S. and the W.M.M.S.), Manargudi (W.M.M.S.), Masulipatam (C.M.S.), Vellore (American Reformed Church), Nagercoil (L.M.S.), Ongole (American Baptist), Palamcottah (C.M.S. —for women), Tinnevelly (C.M.S.—for men), Tanjore and Trichinopoly (S.P.G.), and Pasumalai (A.B.)

[3] We have no means of checking these figures, which are taken from the preface to the *Missionary Statistical Tables* (pp. iii. and iv.), as the final tables given for mission schools on pp. 62–63 are arranged on a different principle to the corresponding tables in the *Government 1901 Census* (vol. i. p. 183).

The development of educational missions has entailed, as a necessary consequence, the creation of a new class of missionary helpers, namely, Christian teachers, possessed of special qualifications and training. Down to the year 1854 missionaries in India, like those in other fields, were disposed, mainly for purposes of simplicity and uniformity of organisation, to train but one class of native assistant and to select the most brilliant and most trustworthy of these for ordination. Then the Government intervened and insisted upon having trained teachers in all grant-aided schools, whilst for the higher demands of the middle and high schools only such as had taken special qualifying studies were selected. From the very beginning missionaries had frequently employed non-Christians as teachers, particularly in schools that were largely or entirely attended by heathen children, but on the whole they had no reason to be satisfied with the experiment. When the schools were taken over by the Government, many non-Christian teachers had at first, unfortunately, to be appointed, because Christian teachers of the requisite experience and skill were not to be found. To remove this disadvantage, nearly all the societies founded training colleges, whether in connection with the teachers' courses instituted by the Government or entirely independent therefrom. At the present time there are forty-seven [1] such training colleges, by far the larger number of which are for village teachers. But still they do not meet the demand, and the question how to obtain an adequate number of capable schoolmasters and schoolmistresses for the very extensive educational work is a regular subject of discussion at the Indian missionary conferences.

The educational ladder in the work of most missions is remarkably similar. First we find a broad foundation of simple and primitive village schools; these elementary schools only carry their scholars, in general, as far as the Lower Primary, and the school buildings are as simple as possible, even forms being lacking in the majority of them. After passing through this school, the better scholars are assembled in a station school, which is ordinarily found only at places where a missionary regularly resides. Whilst the sexes are seldom divided in the village schools, they are separated at the station schools into boys' and girls' departments; whilst the village schools are merely day schools, those at the stations are generally boarding schools; whilst heathen children are admitted to the village schools, the boarding houses of the station schools will only accept Christian children as a general rule, and heathen children are merely invited to attend as day scholars. The station

[1] There are in India altogether 170 suoh training colleges. The missionary quota thereto is thus over 25 per cent. of the whole.

schools generally take the scholars as far as the Upper Primary or Lower Secondary. Nearly all the larger missions crown their school system with one or several more advanced institutions, according as value is set upon educational work, and according to the extent to which it is carried on. Those with more modest pretensions content themselves with planning a "High School" at the summit of their ascending series; others, whose school system is further developed, erect several "High Schools" in the central town of a large mission district, and then terminate the whole with a University college. If this sequence of village school, station school, high school, and college be borne in mind, we shall have a good general idea of the schools in connection with any mission. Local or provisional necessities may sometimes be responsible for slight deviations.

It is true that in this connection great difficulties are experienced in many of the elementary schools owing to the large number of Christian children from the outcaste strata of the population, and that the outlook is by no means everywhere a happy one. In the Presidency of Madras (excepting Travancore and Cochin), of 636,344 Roman Catholics and 372,279 Protestants there were, according to the calculations of the Scotch missionary, Rev. Adam Andrew, in 1901, not less than 734,000 Christians above five years of age who could neither read nor write. In the two districts of Nellore and Kistna, the headquarters of American Baptist missions, the Census of 1901 gives 154,312 Christians, of whom 15,770 are Roman Catholics and 138,542 Protestant. Of these 126,290 have received no education whatever, and 14,500 children of school-going age attend no school. School training is something quite new for these outcaste classes. Missions have neither the means, nor would they deem it wise, to build schools wholly at their own expense, and even if they did so, they have no power to insist on regular attendance. Thus there is plenty of room, especially in these Panchama missions, for developing the system of elementary schools. A model system is that, for example, of the Basle Missionary Society, which has 15,054 church members and 10,339 scholars, the latter being divided into 6875 heathen and 3464 Christian children. That is to say, that 23 per cent. of the children of Christian parents, or nearly all those of school age, did as a matter of fact attend school. Even better figures can be shown by the United Free Church of Scotland, which is, of course, above all an educational mission.

On an average, Protestant Christians, in spite of being mostly drawn from the lowest classes, excel all other strata of the population in India with the one exception of the Brahmans, as far as education is concerned. In the Madras Presidency, for example, English is spoken by one Hindu in every 132, by one

Muhammadan in every 157, but by one in every 15 Christians. One-fifth of those who can read and write in this province are Christians. Still more advantageous to the Christian element is the condition of the weaker sex in this province. In every 10,000 women, 70 of those who can read and write are Hindus, 86 Muhammadans, but 913 are Christians. Of the 20,314 women in India who understand English one is a Jain, 77 are Muhammadans, 1770 Hindus, but 18,402 are Christians!

5. Other Missionary Work among the Educated Classes

Missionaries did not rest content with building colleges and imparting Christian teaching within their walls. They were determined to use every avenue of approach by which a knowledge of Christianity, as the truth that is able to save the soul, might be imparted to those circles which were ready to receive Western culture. Beginning with adults, and step by step descending to school-children, let us consider their more important efforts in this direction. We shall find that work amongst the educated heathen population and amongst the English-trained native Christians goes hand in hand, and that all these efforts are put forth with a view to both classes.

The English-speaking educated classes — just like the educated classes in every country—are, comparatively speaking, difficult of access. They are mostly found in the large towns, in influential positions, working under high pressure and subject to many distractions. It is not possible to estimate how many English-speaking natives there are in India, apart from the Eurasians. The Government Census of 1891 gave 386,032; that of 1901 gives 0·57 per cent. of the whole population, *i.e.* 1½ millions. But that is no doubt too high an estimate; at the very most we could only expect the figures of 1891 to have about doubled. Yet the influence of these men, the intellectual élite of India, is far greater than might be inferred from such modest figures. It is just in such circles, however, that very great obstacles lay in the path of Christianity. The irreligion which prevails in the schools through which the majority of them have passed has deeply impregnated them with the spirit of agnosticism and materialism. All the religious movements of modern Hinduism, the Brahmo Samaj, theosophy, the Swami Vivekananda, Mrs. Besant, the Arya Samaj and others, win the greater part of their adherents from these classes of society. On the other hand, we have universal testimony to the effect that amongst them is to be found many a Nico-

demus, and many who are convinced, at any rate intellectually, of the truth of Christianity. The ordinary name for such persons in India is "borderers." Their influence and importance is so great that particular attention must be paid to them. They are accessible to English literature and every kind of work in the English language. For this reason Bishop Cotton and other distinguished men have arranged cycles of apologetic lectures; a plan that met with even more acceptance was to persuade famous preachers and professors from both England and America to undertake lecturing tours in India. In 1872 Dr. Seelye, an American theological professor, held a series of evangelistic lectures at Bombay, Ahmadnagar, and Poona. In 1882, a clever American theologian, Rev. Joseph Cook, and a former Free Church of Scotland missionary, Rev. Murray Mitchell, travelled through the length and breadth of India. In the two winters of 1886 and 1887 the Church Missionary Society conducted two splendidly organised "Winter Missions" in every part of its Indian field. During the first winter the missioners were their own Secretary, Rev. Mr. Wigram and his son, whilst in the following year eight eminent speakers, four clergymen and four laymen, formed the deputation. In 1889 the Keswick Convention sent Mr. Grubb to visit South India and Ceylon. In the next few years there followed Dr. Pentecost, Rev. Wm. Haslam, George Müller, Lord Radstock, Rev. E. N. Thwaites and others, partly in connection with individual missionary societies, partly to carry on revival work generally amongst the native Christians and the educated Hindus. As a result of the Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893, Miss Caroline Haskell, an earnest and wealthy American lady, gave a donation of twenty thousand dollars that a lecturing tour in India might be undertaken every few years by some distinguished theologian. The first to undertake the mission was Rev. J. H. Barrows, D.D., who had presided over the Chicago Congress, and his tour in 1896 was an important event for India. In later years he has been followed by Dr. Fairbairn of Oxford and Dr. Cuthbert Hall of New York. One disadvantage of these lecturing tours is that the lecturers themselves are not sufficiently familiar with Indian ideas and ways of thinking, and they therefore speak and act almost invariably purely as Americans or Englishmen. On all hands it is admitted, however, that streams of blessing and awakening to better things have resulted from these meetings—at which immense audiences have been the general rule. Since 1900 the Church Missionary Society has maintained a missionary in Bombay, Rev. Hector McNeile, M.A., and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society one at Madras, the Rev. T. W.

Kellett, M.A. (on his much lamented early death succeeded by the Rev. D. G. M. Leith), for the sole purpose of exercising pastoral care over all those, both in these cities and for a considerable distance round, who have received an English education. This ought to be done more extensively, so that some one might always give personal attention to those who have left school, might confirm the religious impressions there made upon them, and deepen their knowledge of Christian truth.

Next in importance to the class just considered—*i.e.* those who have passed through the schools and grown up—comes that consisting of the 16,700 students now in the colleges. For the 6000 of this number who are pursuing their studies in mission colleges, Christian oversight is by no means limited to class instruction. Everywhere the missionaries are building hostels, separate ones being provided for Christian and heathen students; these hostels are for the most part modest establishments, where for a very small sum students can obtain board and lodging, and those who are Christians religious instruction also. And as far as the missionaries' time allows, they endeavour to assist the students, who are generally very inexperienced and have difficulty in following the lectures, which are exclusively in English, in their home studies and preparation. Besides this, they conduct Bible classes, debating societies, and those kinds of athletics for which Englishmen are always such enthusiasts.

Efforts are, however, also made to gain an influence over the students who do not belong to missionary colleges. These young men almost invariably reside in the midst of temptation and in great poverty, and various missionaries, particularly those belonging to the Church Missionary Society and the English Baptist Missionary Society, made efforts a considerable time back to get hold of some of them; but the first systematic attempt to win these particular young men was made by the Oxford Brotherhood in Calcutta. In 1894 a hostel was built for them, which was at once enthusiastically patronised. Of yet greater importance has been a journal, which was founded by the Brotherhood specially for these particular circles; it was called *Epiphany*, and has become an open meeting-place for both Christians and heathen to discuss their spiritual difficulties and problems; undoubtedly this has been a most fruitful undertaking. We have already mentioned that this magazine, with its three thousand subscribers, is one of the most widely read organs connected with Indian missions, and amongst the students it probably wields far and away the largest influence. The Church Missionary Society followed some years later with

a hostel at Allahabad, opened in 1901.[1] It then went a step farther, and located in Allahabad a special students' missionary, Rev. W. E. S. Holland, well known to English students as one of the Secretaries of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union. Student hostels in University cities, however, will probably soon become more important when the Indian Universities cease to be merely examining bodies and become real teaching bodies like those of Scotland and Germany. This has already been accomplished in Lahore, it is being arranged for at Allahabad, at the Muir College there, and is a thing greatly to be desired in India.

Still more important was the advent of the Young Men's Christian Association and kindred organisations in work amongst the youth of India. Since the year 1886 or thereabouts a powerful missionary spirit has been stirring the student world of Great Britain and America; and just as the same spirit has gradually won for itself a foothold in all Protestant countries on the Continent of Europe, so has it affected almost every part of the world-wide mission field. There are various associations at work; sometimes their lines of operations are parallel, sometimes they merge the one into the other. The most important are (1) the Indian National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association and the particular branch of this Association which has undertaken to work at the Universities, the Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A. of India and Ceylon. The first branch of the Y.M.C.A. was formed at Trivandrum, South Travancore, in 1870. In 1889 the first Secretary of this organisation landed in India and took up his residence in Madras. (2) The Young Women's Christian Association has likewise a special branch for University work. (3) The Student Volunteer Movement of India and Ceylon (in close relations with the Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A.). All are branches of the World's Student Christian Federation, which was founded in Sweden in 1895, and of which John Mott is the General Secretary. All three organisations are intended for Englishmen as well as Indians, for Hindus and Muhammadans as well as for Christians. It is therefore impossible to estimate exactly the extent of the missionary work they perform. In 1900 the Y.M.C.A. possessed in India and Burma 131 branches with a membership of 5265, to which we must add 21 branches and 750 members in Ceylon. Of these, 41 branches with 3000 students (1903) belong to the "Intercollegiate Department"; that is to say, they are at work entirely amongst students. The Young Women's Christian Association had in 1900 260 branch associations with 3903 members in India and Burma, and five

[1] The C.M.S. have a hostel in Lahore for Christian students.

branches in Ceylon with 500 on their books. Twenty-eight of these, with 500 members, belong to the Intercollegiate Department. The Y.W.C.A. branch associations were united in 1896 in a "National Union for India, Burma, and Ceylon." The development of work amongst the students is due to Robert Wilder, who from 1892 to 1902 placed his whole strength and great eloquence at the service of the movement, whilst occupying secretaryships at Calcutta, Poona, and Coonoor; and to John Mott, who in the winter of 1895–1896 went from college to college all over India as in one long triumphal procession. The centres of this work are of course at those places where students most do congregate—Calcutta, the first in importance of all, Madras, Bombay, Lahore, Colombo, and Allahabad. At Madras a former Postmaster-General of the United States and a most generous man, Mr. Wanamaker, has presented a truly imposing building to serve as headquarters of the movement, from which a highly gifted Swede, L. P. Larsen, carries on a splendid and many-sided activity. In Calcutta the work amongst the Europeans and Eurasians, and those of pure Indian descent, has been divided and concentrated at two centres, each favourably situated for its respective operations. The headquarters of the work amongst the women students at Allahabad is the "Lady Muir Memorial," of which Miss Agnes de Selincourt is the Directress; more recently, in 1904, a training school for zenana missionaries and Bible-women has been linked on to its other activities. The Young Women's Christian Association also possesses premises of its own in Bombay, and these serve as headquarters for manifold missionary labours. In 1905 a beautiful new building was erected at Colombo for the Young Men's Christian Association, at a cost of over £5000.

For younger scholars of both sexes there has been an important extension of Sunday-school work during the last two decades. After various lesser attempts made by Carey (at Serampore in 1803) and other missionaries, more particularly those belonging to the American Presbyterians, Dr. Scott, the American Methodist, made an impassioned appeal to missionaries assembled at the General Missionary Conference held at Allahabad in 1872, to introduce Sunday schools on the "group system," both amongst the children of the native Christians and amongst those coming from heathen homes. In 1876 the India Sunday School Union was founded. The American missionaries were the protagonists and prime movers in this new department. They established Sunday schools mainly in connection with their mission schools; in some places

they succeeded in creating them even without such support. Since that time the English missionary societies and, somewhat later, most of the German and Scandinavian societies have become warm supporters of the Sunday schools; the only difference being that the last-named societies have confined their work mainly to children of Christian parentage. The Sunday-school Union, whose President is that most distinguished Indian Christian, Sir Harnam Singh Ahluwalia of Kapurthala, is at present under the direction of two special missionaries (of whom one is a lady); to it belong 4360 Sunday schools and 165,931 scholars. It pays particular attention to Sunday-school literature, primarily with a view to the thorough preparation of the teachers, but the scholars are not forgotten; its special organ is the *India Sunday School Journal*. The *International Sunday School Lesson Syllabus* is printed in several languages. A co-ordinate organisation of more recent date is the "Children's Special Service Mission"; it seeks to arrange religious gatherings especially for children, to produce and circulate useful literature, and most important of all, to give assistance and inspiration in regular daily Bible reading. In this last endeavour it is working hand in hand with the "International Bible Readers' Association," which receives special support from the Church Missionary Society at Tinnevelly. Partly in connection with these two organisations, but also partly independent of them, there were in 1900 274,402 Sunday-school scholars in India, 17,350 in Burma, and 27,899 in Ceylon, a total of 319,651. How rapidly the Sunday-school system has developed is shown by the following figures: in 1881 there were only 61,688 Sunday-school scholars in India; in 1890 there were 135,565, and in 1900 274,402. A parallel organisation, which is zealously and successfully carried on in circles more especially American, is that of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour; it was only imported to India fifteen years ago, but in 1900 there were already 174 branches with a membership of 4349 in the Madras Presidency alone. Similar associations exist in Methodist circles under the name of "Wesley Guilds" or "Epworth Leagues."

A method especially beloved and cultivated in Scotland of encouraging young people to a diligent and attentive reading of the Scriptures is the holding of written or oral Bible examinations at stated intervals or on special occasions. Very considerable use is made on the Indian mission field of this practical method, at once to encourage Christian children in study of the Bible, and also to spread abroad amongst Hindu and Muhammadan children a knowledge of the Book of books.

Prizes are offered either by individual friends of missions or by congregations or societies in the homeland; there are also available certain foundations, the interest on which is regularly set aside for this purpose. The best known and most benevolent of such foundations is that of Judge Peter Cator of Madras, who in 1862 left a large sum to the Church Missionary Society, the interest on which brings in, on an average, £50 per annum. The greater part of this, though not necessarily all of it, has to be used in awarding prizes to those most proficient in Bible knowledge. These written competitions are always a great event in South Indian Sunday-school circles.

6. Women's Work for Women

The conception of the position of the weaker sex which has been deeply rooted in the Indian mind for centuries past, and the customs which are the logical and inevitable outcome of that conception, prohibit the women and maidens of India receiving instruction from any male teachers other than their nearest relatives. Only women of the lowest castes are exempt from this prohibition, more especially outcastes on the one hand, and on the other little girls up to their tenth or twelfth year. The farther one goes in India from South to North the stronger and the more insurmountable does the great barrier wall erected about the weaker sex become; it is strongest of all in those districts where the influence of Islam is most universal. The women of North India are banished to their zenanas; it has been computed that of the 150 million women and girls of India, 40 millions reside in the zenanas—a population greater than that of Prussia. These zenanas are inaccessible to missionaries and native preachers all over India, and in the strong Muhammadan cities of the North they are hermetically sealed against all Christian influences. It is wholly impossible to reach this great and influential section of the population by means of vernacular preaching.

It is precisely the womanhood of India, however, which has been, as is so often the case in other parts of the world, the protectress and zealous adherent of traditional heathenism. Hundreds of times when missionaries have thought they have made a lasting impression on promising young life, zenana influences have swiftly and completely erased it. These "borderers" have not enough strength of purpose to resist the incontrollable but mighty counter-influences set in motion by their wives, their mothers, and their grandmothers.

On the other hand, the desolate plight of Indian womanhood called forth at an early stage the sympathy of supporters of missions and philanthropists alike. The fight against the abomination of the suttee was one of the first of the great humanitarian movements set in motion by the missionaries. Child-marriages and the enforced celibacy of widows are a twofold scourge, against which not only missionaries but also many of the most intelligent natives have striven for a century past with little success. According to Indian custom, the betrothal between those whom it is proposed to make man and wife must take place as early as possible, and in no case later than at the twelfth year of their age; particularly are girls of high caste, and especially Brahman girls, supposed to be under a curse if they are not betrothed before arriving at the age of twelve. According to the Census of 1901, 13 girls of every 1000 are married below the age of five, 102 between the ages of five and ten, and 423 between ten and fifteen. Unfortunately, this betrothal is binding on the girl under all circumstances; *i.e.*, should the little bridegroom die, she is a widow. How awful is the lot of the widows of India many descriptions have endeavoured to portray, notably those of Pandita Ramabai, who herself suffered in this way. According to the Census of 1901, there were 1064 widows under one year old, 1217 between the ages of one and two, 2271 between two and three, 4513 between three and four, 10,422 between four and five; that is, 19,487 under five years of age. The Census further gives 95,798 between five and ten years of age, and 275,862 between ten and fifteen. A second marriage is in most cases impossible.[1]

[1] Even in the description of great and notorious evils we must be on our guard against exaggeration. Such should be the case when we speak of child-marriages and of the prohibition of the marriage of widows. Child-marriages are by no means equally prevalent all over India, and still less in all castes. Between the ages of one and ten only 3 per 1000 are married in Burma, Coorg, Cochin, and Travancore; in the Mysore, 10 per 1000; in Assam, 18; in Orissa, 21; in Madras, 27; in the Punjab, 29; in Kashmir, the Central Provinces, Rajputana, and the United Provinces, between 46 and 61; and in Bengal, Chota Nagpur, and Bombay, between 76 and 83 per 1000. Only in Hyderabad and Baroda does the number mount to 11 per cent., in Birar to 17 per cent., and in Bihar to 18 per cent.; *i.e.*, nearly one-fifth of all girls under ten years of age. Only in Bihar is there a district in which nearly 42 per cent. of all girls under ten years of age are married. And only from Bengal do we hear of frequent marriages being actually consummated before the girl-wives arrive at an age of puberty, with all their fatal consequences to the poor children. It is, moreover, by no means the case, as is frequently supposed, that the Brahmans because of religious superstition are the chief offenders in bringing about these child-marriages; the lower castes and the forest tribes are far more given to this usage than the Brahmans. Of every 1000 girls married under the age of twelve in Bengal, 191 are the children of Brahmans, 362 of the Ahirs and Goalas (shepherds), 208 of the Chamars (leather-workers), 323 of other low castes such as the Tantis and Tatwas, and 397 of the Telis. Nor is it by any means a universal custom for widows to be prohibited from remarriage. Certainly in Bengal we find the

We can easily understand, therefore, that the missionaries were soon forced to consider how they could bring the gospel to the women of India. If men cannot do this, it was urged, here is an immense field opened to women workers. And in view of the awful intellectual sterility in the midst of which the inhabitants of the zenanas pass their lives, the fitting avenue of approach seemed to be that of the school; in some way to provide them with mental stimulus, to kindle new thoughts within their neglected and desolate hearts, to awaken them from their century-long sleep, to reveal to them the busy world beyond the zenana walls with all its ideals and all its strifes—this seemed to be a work as full of charm as it was meritorious. But there were overwhelming obstacles in the way of such efforts. In the first place, there is the old and deeply rooted belief that women neither can learn nor ought to learn. Even to read the sacred books in the hearing of a woman is sternly forbidden in the Shastras; if her eyes but rest on the holy books for one moment, or her hand touch their pages, they thereby become unclean. Men looked upon women as scarcely above the level of the brute creation, and women had grown accustomed to consider this verdict the right one; they did not know that they had understanding and could learn. And far worse still, the only females who had from time immemorial learnt to read and write, and even at times to make verses, were the Nautch girls; and because they alone possessed the privilege of learning, learning had fallen into great disrepute for all other women in the country. A woman compromised herself and became an object of the gravest suspicion when she began to learn anything! A prejudice so deeply rooted as this is not removed in a moment; endless patience was necessary to undermine it little by little, and to bring about a change in public opinion on this point.

custom in almost every caste and class of the people. But in the adjacent provinces the prohibition only holds good for the castes of the Twice Born; all other castes there allow their widows to marry as they like. In the Punjab the prohibition, just like child-marriage, is met with, proportionally, only seldom, and even then it is limited to the most distinguished families of the higher castes. The great caste group of the Jats, for example, which consists of over seven million souls, allows its widows to remarry without let or hindrance, and only those of the best families do not do so. The literary war which has been hotly waged against this prohibition by the social reformers, especially by the Parsi Malabari, the Bengali Vidyasagar, and the Tamil Ragunath Rao Bahadur (a title of nobility), is rendered so difficult because of the fact that, according to a view very widely held in India, those castes which allow their widows to marry are somewhat looked down upon and lose some measure of their social standing, whereas if any caste desires to mount the social ladder it may often make the first step in this direction by insisting strongly upon the observance of the prohibition. Hence we have the frequent spectacle of a new caste cutting itself loose from some old caste group, and by strongly prohibiting the remarriage of widows obtaining social status and caste rank.

We have already seen that only one woman in 144, or 0·7 per cent., can read and write as against 10 per cent. of the sterner sex. According to the Census of 1881, there were only 21,590 of the 21,195,313 women in the United Provinces (*i.e.* 0·1 per cent.) who could at that time read and write. According to the Census of 1901, 4·5 per cent. of the women can read in Burma, the land of woman's emancipation; 1·1 per cent. in the Madras Presidency, with its numerous and compact Christian churches; 0·5 per cent. in eager and talented Bengal; and only 0·3 per cent. in the Punjab and most of the Protected States. The prejudice against education for women is so great that the Census officials for 1901 believe that the number of women able to read was intentionally kept secret, because the disclosure of such a fact would have been a disgrace.

A second hindrance very difficult to surmount is that of the child-betrothals and child-marriages. Only in the last decade of the nineteenth century was a law promulgated, by which the statutory age at which a girl may enter into actual marital relations was raised from ten to twelve (!), and Hindu society opposed this law by all means in its power, and chose to regard it as an attack upon its religion! As the age at which marriage is consummated is generally the time of final relegation to the seclusion of the zenana, the only opportunity for school-life and school-influence is restricted to the period between tenderest childhood and the tenth or, at the very outside, the twelfth year.

In the following account it is our purpose to describe how during the course of the nineteenth century that great branch of labour which is so characteristic of modern missionary enterprise in India, women's work for women, has developed. We can only mention in passing the faithful and self-sacrificing efforts which since the dawn of Protestant missions have been, and still are, made by the wives and daughters of missionaries. Their work has for the most part been carried on in secret, and little of it has found its way into missionary reports. As the hot Indian climate almost entirely debars European women from taking that part in the duties of the kitchen, garden, and household generally which they are accustomed to perform in the homeland, and as these are claimed as the lawful domain of the inefficient, untrustworthy, but necessarily numerous and cheap staff of Indian servants, missionaries' wives and daughters have as a general rule had abundance of time for actual missionary work, and it would form a noble and beautiful chapter in the history of Indian missions were we only able to collate all they have silently and unassumingly accomplished. Not only the German missionary societies, but also for example the

greatest and best organised of the English societies, the Church Missionary Society, refrained on principle from sending out women workers until about the middle of the eighties, because the wives, widows, and daughters of the missionaries were performing such a meritorious and extensive work amongst the women of India.

(a) *Its Origin* (*down to* 1854)

It is scarcely necessary for us here to mention the fact that even in the eighteenth century the veterans of the Danish Mission had taught young girls in their schools, and that in more recent times the same duty had everywhere pressed with irresistible force upon the modern English missionary societies. An effort was made at the same time in many places to exercise some oversight of the greatly neglected Eurasian children and to get them to come to school with the children of the native Christians. Most of these schools were attended by both boys and girls.

The first method adopted for bringing heathen girls under Christian influences was the erection of orphanages and asylums, and particularly in North Indian missions did these orphanages acquire a distinct importance of their own during the nineteenth century. The girls taken into the orphanages were almost without exception baptized immediately after their entrance. They then received a Christian training which inevitably, thanks to the constant supervision of the missionaries, took on a certain foreign complexion. When they went back to their ordinary life, they found themselves completely out of sympathy with the manner of life, the way of thinking, and the point of view of their heathen neighbours; they were no longer part and parcel of their own people. That is the reason why the plan generally adopted in the early years of the nineteenth century of gathering native girls into boarding schools, where they received gratis board, lodging, teaching, clothing, and school-books, has not been persevered with. In attempting to board the girls, one ran aground on the reef of caste prejudice, and if board were dispensed with, no true home-life was possible. The plan was only practicable when the girls broke their caste rules—but they then became outcastes, and baptism was their sole hope of safety. Only during the last thirty years of the century have efforts been made under greatly modified conditions again to tread this very thorny path.

Both the London Missionary Society and the Baptist Missionary Society were early in the field in their attempts

to gather the young together in very modest schools, the so-called "bazaar schools." In 1829 the Rev. Robert May of the London Missionary Society had 3500 scholars in twenty-nine schools built in and around Chinsurah; a start was also made with a "circle of schools" in Madras. These schools, although principally attended by boys, made an effort to attract a few girls. Both the Chinsurah missionary and his colleague at Madras declared it to be impossible at that time to form a school exclusively for girls; and yet the Serampore missionaries, particularly the energetic Hannah Marshman, who expended much strength on the venture, had already temporarily succeeded in doing this at Calcutta; her little school for girls comprised forty children, but it was found impossible to continue it. Somewhat more successful was Mrs. Wilson, the self-sacrificing wife of the great Scotch missionary, John Wilson of Bombay. She devoted herself to this kind of work from the moment she first landed in India in 1829, and in a few years' time she had opened six schools, at which 120 girls attended. It was in her favour that the Parsis, who are there most influential, know no caste, and the Marathas enjoy much greater freedom in social intercourse than the Bengalis. Wilson's second wife also took up this work with great enthusiasm, and founded a home for poor and abandoned female children.

In the meantime a Society called the "Calcutta Female Juvenile Society for the Education of Native Females" had been formed at Calcutta in April 1819, at the instigation of Mrs. Marshman. Its chief object was the erection of schools for girls. In 1820 it started with one school and eight children, but in 1824 it had increased this to six schools with 160 girls. A more successful undertaking, the "Calcutta School Society," was inaugurated in September of the same year (1819); its *raison d'être*, however, was the founding of schools of all kinds for the lower classes. It was calculated that there were then in the capital and its immediate vicinity some 750,000 inhabitants, and that out of all this number there were only 4180 scholars receiving any education; of these scarcely one was a girl! According to one calculation, which there is, however, no means of checking, there were at that time only 400 girls able to read in the whole of India.

The need for elementary schools was therefore a crying one. "The British and Foreign School Society," founded by Jos. Lancaster in London, was approached, and at the earnest solicitation of this Society Miss Cooke was prevailed upon to go out to India in 1821, and to place her services at the disposal of the Calcutta School Society. However, one-third of the

members of the Committee of this Society were Hindu gentlemen, and they raised such spirited opposition to the engagement of a schoolmistress solely to establish girls' schools that the plan was abandoned. It should be noticed that the Society was neutral on matters of religion, and had no wish to attempt any Christian propaganda. Miss Cooke therefore took service under the Calcutta Committee of the Church Missionary Society, and very soon her enthusiasm led her to open a school for girls. She was working at that time at her Bengali studies, and, having occasion to pay a visit to a boys' school, she found on the threshold a little girl who had been begging for months to be allowed to learn with the boys, but in vain. Such a desire for knowledge touched her heart, and although she knew very little Bengali, she began her school for girls on the following day with fifteen children. The numbers grew: at the end of the year 1822 she had three schools with between 50 and 60 girls; in 1824, twenty-two schools with 300 to 400 girls; and in 1826, as many as thirty schools with 600 female scholars. She and her friends succeeded in interesting the Governor-General and his wife in her work, and under their patronage a "Ladies' Society for Female Native Education in Calcutta and the Vicinity" was founded in 1824. Miss Cooke now worked wholly for this Society; in 1823 she had married the Rev. Isaac Wilson (C.M.S.), but after his death in 1828 she continued her work with as great enthusiasm as ever. Encouraged by its early successes, in 1828 the new Society set about the erection of premises of its own, to serve as a residence for the European lady missionary and her native staff (mostly Eurasians), as a modest training college for teachers and as a practising school. The Church Missionary Society contributed £500 towards the cost of the building, and matter for special congratulation was the gift of over £1000 from a distinguished and intelligent Hindu, Rajah Badinath Roy. Mrs. Wilson presided over the institution until 1836; she then retired from the management, and founded a Girls' Orphanage at Agarpara, near Calcutta. Unfortunately, in 1842 she became a Darbyite, and from that time withdrew from all missionary activity.[1]

The prosperity of Mrs. Wilson's school, the growing acquaintance and sympathy with the downtrodden condition of Indian women, and the powerful advocacy of individual missionaries

[1] Mrs. Cooke-Wilson is described by those intimately acquainted with her as being an exceptional woman, of real spiritual power and gifts. "Her wisdom and gentle tact, her peaceful and yet cordial disposition, her deep and ever joyous piety, her experience . . . together with a remarkable practical ability to turn to advantage all the gifts of her helpers and every opportunity that presented itself, won for her a measure of affection and esteem such as is only seldom enjoyed" (Weitbrecht, *Frauenmission in Indien*, p. 83).

such as the Rev. Daniel Abeel of America, all contributed to the foundation in London, on June 4th, 1834, of a Society whose object was the carrying on of missionary labour among the women of India; this Society soon assumed the name of "Society for Promoting Female Education in the East."

In 1838 Captain Jameson founded in Scotland the "Scottish Ladies' Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India." This Society, which was largely animated by Duff's ideals, split up at the Disruption in 1843 into the two Women's Missionary Societies, belonging to the Established Church and to the Free Church. On November 10th, 1842, Frau Eickhorn, wife of the statesman, founded at Berlin, with the assistance of a Committee of ten other ladies, the "Frauen-Verein für christliche Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechts im Morgenlande"[1] (Ladies' Society for the Christian Education of Females in the East). These were the first societies by which a helping hand was extended by the women of Europe to their sisters in the East.

Yet, in spite of all these well-meant and earnest efforts, this kind of work was still only in its infancy in India. As late as 1840, Mrs. Wilson, who was by far the person best qualified to speak on the subject, declared that as far as she knew only 500 girls were attending school in Bengal, half of whom were in her own schools. The conditions under which such schools worked have been set forth by Storrow (*Our Indian Sisters*, pp. 192–194), and his description is confirmed by all those who were personally acquainted with the circumstances of the time: "The superstition was general that educated women made disobedient wives, and that the husbands of girls who could read were most liable to die. Education, it was everywhere assumed, would cause girls to be more conceited and unmanageable. Since purdah ladies were untaught, what presumption was it for the poor and low-caste to learn to read and write. Nothing but evil and danger could spring out of such an unheard-of revolution. Think of the trouble and danger it would cause! How could girls, however low in caste and poor, go to school unwatched and untended? It would interfere with their meals, their devotions, their freedom, and endanger their caste if not their lives. Such were the difficulties suggested by ignorant and superstitious parents, in whose wide circle of relationship no reader probably could be discovered for generations. To meet these objections, many expedients were adopted. A woman

[1] About the same time similar societies were founded at Geneva, Basle, and Strasburg, especially under the influence of a stirring "call to arms" by W. Hoffmann, at that time Inspector of the Basle Missionary Society; they never attained, however, any position of great independent usefulness.

was sent round to conduct the girls to school and home again who was stimulated to zeal by payment for as many as were brought. Often the scholars were paid for attendance. Usually food and sweetmeats were provided for them, and periodically they received, even for meagre attendance, gifts of money or presents of cloth. Each sum was small, but the aggregate amount was considerable. The results were far from encouraging. The attendance was most irregular. It ceased altogether for trivial or imaginary causes. A desire to learn was seldom seen on the part of scholars or parents, but greed and suspicion were ever on the alert to have discipline and rule relaxed or to obtain additional gifts. Now and then the school would be entirely deserted through some foolish or evil report. An attendance of twenty-five girls was regarded as encouraging. They almost always came from the lowest castes and classes, and left before they were eleven years of age, to be married, or on some trivial pretence or other. Thus, through their early age, the superficiality of knowledge, and the dense ignorance of their surroundings, they retained little of what they had learned, which usually disappeared as raindrops in the rushing river."

(b) *The Change in Public Opinion* (1854–1880)

Dr. Duff was quite right in saying that this sad state of things would only be remedied when the young men of India had become so far familiar with Western culture as to be able no longer to tolerate wives who were wholly illiterate. Only as a new conception of the nature and position of woman found its way into the highest strata of the male population of the country could missionaries enter the closed doors of the zenanas. About the middle of the century the signs of the dawning of a new epoch were multiplied. One of the first was the foundation of a society of whose absolutely private sittings in Calcutta Duff only heard quite accidentally;[1] it was "a secret society among the educated Hindus for privately instructing their young daughters and other female relatives." In these circles one of the most highly respected personages was the Bengali clergyman, Krishna Mohan Banerjea, and he used his entire influence in endeavouring to awaken general interest in the instruction of the daughters of well-educated families. It was also helpful that whereas the British Government had hitherto opposed all projects for the education of women, Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of the day, favoured it then, and in 1849, "on his own responsibility," he expressed the opinion that "the

[1] G. Smith, *Life of A. Duff*, p. 194.

Government ought to accord substantial and cordial support to the cause of female education." And his exact meaning was made evident that same year when the President of the Council for Educational Affairs, Drinkwater Bethune, built in Calcutta at his own expense a "Native Female School," an excellent girls' school for children belonging to the very best families. Although this school was only poorly attended at first and met with but little success, it was still an attempt well worthy of being recorded. Unfortunately, this upper-class school excluded all religious instruction as a matter of principle. It has been in the main the training ground for families belonging to the reform movements of Bengal, especially the Brahmo Samaj, and to it is the credit due that very often the daughters of such families have received a splendidly liberal education. The school attached to Bethune College is even to-day reckoned as the premier girls' school in Calcutta.

Of immeasurably greater importance, however, was a new method adopted by the missionaries about this time. In the *Calcutta Christian Observer* there appeared an article in 1840 written by Dr. Thos. Smith, a Scotch missionary and one of Dr. Duff's younger colleagues, in which he contended that the only way to reach the women of India was personally to seek them out in the zenanas and there to give them Christian instruction and every other possible kind of mental stimulus. The article provoked much shaking of heads and many spirited rejoinders. It was not until 1854, fifteen years later, that the Scotch missionary John Fordyce and his gifted wife (they had only come out in 1853) dared to translate Smith's theory into fact.[1] For this purpose he enlisted the help of a clever Eurasian lady, Miss Toogood. The first house opened to him was that of Babu Kumar Tagore, a scion of the distinguished and wealthy house of the Tagores, though reckoning according to caste he only belonged to the inferior branch of the family. As Miss Toogood and a Bible woman named Rebecca left the house to pay their first visit, Fordyce remarked to his wife, "This is the beginning of a new era for the daughters of India." He was right; it was the beginning of Zenana Missions, which are now, after half a century has rolled by, one of the most prosperous and most cultivated departments of Indian missionary service. Soon a

[1] As early as 1842 the Society for the Promotion of Female Education had sent out a lady missionary to the Parsi women of Bombay. But this was a matter of less importance, because there is no zenana system among the Parsis, and thus the peculiar difficulties connected with women's life in India are only met with to a small extent. Isolated examples of attempted zenana work also occurred in several other places, *e.g.* in the house of the intelligent Jay Narain Ghosal, who presented the C.M.S. at Benares with the site and endowment fund for the Jay Narain College, in that of the enlightened Rajah, Badinath Roy, and elsewhere.

number of other houses in Calcutta were opened to the visits of this new Order, and a large number of missionaries' wives at once devoted themselves with the utmost enthusiasm to the work. By far the most famous of these was Mrs. Mullens, the wife of a missionary of the L.M.S. and a daughter of the famous preacher Lacroix. Her example was quickly followed in other towns and provinces: at Benares zenana visiting was first undertaken by Mrs. Leupolt[1] and Mrs. Tracey; in Eastern Bengal it was commenced by Mrs. Sale; and at Gorakhpur in the United Provinces by Miss Bird.

It was a long time before there was any desire in India, even in the most intimate missionary circles, for unmarried women missionaries to be sent out. In the early thirties, so devoted and zealous a bishop as Daniel Wilson answered the question as to whether he would like any such missionaries to be sent out in the following terms: "No! Women can't do it. Both on principle and from my experience in Indian missionary life, I should oppose single women being sent out to such a far-off land; it is almost an absolute certainty that they would get married within a month of their arrival" (Stock, *History of C.M.S.* i. p. 316).[2] As late as the middle of the century the number of unmarried women missionaries—apart from the members of the families of missionaries residing in the country—was extremely small and tended to grow less and less. It was only when zenana missions threw open a wide door for their labours that their number increased with astonishing rapidity. The time came when nearly every great English and American missionary society had a women's auxiliary with more or less independent power of action, and almost invariably these newly established auxiliary societies found their first and most important field in the zenanas of India. We will content ourselves here with enumerating the most important:—

			Founded in
Belonging to the		S.P.G.: the Women's Mission Association in connection with the S.P.G.	1866
Do.	do.	B.M.S.: the Baptist Zenana Mission . .	1867
Do.	do.	L.M.S.: Ladies' Committee of the L.M.S. . .	1875[3]
Do.	do.	W.M.M.S.: Women's Auxiliary of the W.M.M.S. .	1858

[1] Who as Miss Jones had been the first representative to India of the Society for the Promotion of Female Education (1836).

[2] The good bishop is certainly in the right: the marriage of lady missionaries has always been one of the difficulties of female missionary work. But, however disturbing the enforced and frequent changes in the staff may be owing to this cause, there is the great counterbalancing advantage that in this way a long succession of brilliantly gifted wives drawn from the most cultured society in the homeland has been found for the missionaries.

[3] Only until 1890.

In North America:—

			Founded in
Belonging to the American Board:		Women's Board for Missions (for the Interior, 1868; for the Pacific, 1873)	1868
Do.	do.	American Baptist Missionary Union: Women's Baptist Foreign Mission Society (for the West, 1871; for California, 1875; of Oregon, 1878)	1871
Do.	do.	Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society: Women's Foreign Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church	1869
Do.	do.	Presbyterian Church North: Women's Foreign Mission Society of the Presbyterian Church (North-West, 1870; New York, 1870; North New York, 1872; Occidental, 1873; South-West, 1877; Pacific, 1888)	1870

Not content, however, with these women's auxiliary societies which were formed with such remarkable celerity in every direction, special zenana missionary societies sprang up into existence in many places. In consequence of the pressing necessity in Calcutta for zenana missionaries and the staff of the girls' schools obtaining at least a measure of training, a new departure was made in 1852 by the establishment of a teachers' seminary, the "Normal School for the Training of Christian Female Teachers," and a society thus entitled was formed. This was united as early as 1857 with the already mentioned educational society under the direction of Mrs. Wilson, and the joint societies took the name of "Normal, Central, and Branch School Society." After some hesitation this was changed in 1861 to the "Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society," which was finally altered in 1880 to the "Zenana Bible and Medical Mission," under which designation it is now known both in England and in India. This often-metamorphosed society soon became the actual pioneer and *porte lumière* of zenana missions. In 1861 it had in twenty-two zenanas a hundred and sixty women and a hundred and fifty girls receiving its ministrations, and nearly all these belonged to the higher castes of the Brahmans, the writers or the physicians. In 1860 a new American society came to its assistance, the "Women's Union Missionary Society," founded in New York by Mrs. Doremus on an interdenominational basis. It had the good fortune to find at the very beginning of its career an organising genius in Miss Britain, who unfortunately, after organising the work of the Society marvellously in Calcutta and neighbourhood, quitted India for Japan.

In order rightly to appreciate the results of this work down to 1881, we will place all the reliable statistics to which we have access in parallel columns:—

	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.
Women missionaries (including Eurasians)[1]	?	?	370	479
Native assistants	?	?	837	1,643
Girls' schools	285	261	664	1,120
Scholars at above	8,919	12,057	24,078	40,897
Zenanas visited	...	?	1,300	7,522
Females receiving instruction at the same .	...	...	1,997	9,132

(c) *Golden Harvest* (*from* 1880)

However great the change that had come over women's work in the Indian mission field during the twenty-five years 1854–1880, scarcely any one can at that time have formed the faintest conception of the enormous development this branch of labour was to undergo during the succeeding quarter of a century. The development which has taken place in connection with one missionary society, the greatest (C.M.S.), will serve us as a type for what has happened all along the line. For a long time this Society could not (being in this respect thoroughly in harmony with German views and ideals) come to the determination to employ in its service unmarried women missionaries—apart from the numerous missionaries' widows and daughters, the greater part of whom had rendered it most remarkable assistance. Whenever necessary, it applied to the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society, to the Society for the Promotion of Female Education, or to the German "Morgenländischer Frauen-Verein." The first of these societies worked in such intimate conjunction with the Church Missionary Society that it was regarded almost as one of its own auxiliaries. Faithful to its principles and in loyalty to this Society, the Church Missionary Society prior to 1880 refused every request to send out women missionaries at its own expense, with the exception of one or two rare cases where special local needs had to be taken into consideration. In the year 1880, however, under the influence of its President, Lady Kinnaird, the Committee of the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society began to develop a manifest

[1] During this period a good third of the staff was composed of Eurasians. Being only half European, they have the advantage of being less susceptible to the burning heat of the Indian summer, and, generally, of speaking an Indian language as their mother tongue. By attracting them to and training them for this important service for women, a work of real benevolence was performed towards their greatly neglected and despised race. Most of the training colleges erected in India, especially those in Calcutta, were intended for Eurasians. Nevertheless, the experiment has been none too successful as far as they were concerned. As a race they are indolent and deficient in character. The gulf which divides them from the zenana women is generally insuperable—they are despised by Hindu society almost more than by Europeans. They were thus hardly fit agents for pioneering so difficult and delicate a work as that of the zenana missions.

leaning towards union with certain Nonconformist, more especially Presbyterian, circles: a new Presbyterian Secretary was appointed to an office always hitherto occupied by an Anglican. This roused such ill feeling in Anglican circles that the latter practically severed all connection with their "untrustworthy" ally. This would have been the fitting occasion for the Church Missionary Society to have founded a Women's Auxiliary of its own. It was, however, so far from being ready to do so, that one of its most respected Secretaries, Wright, persuaded those who had broken their connection with the I.F.N.S. and I. Society to form themselves into an independent women's missionary organisation, the "Church of England Zenana Missionary Society" (the C.E.Z.M.S.). But circumstances proved stronger than all the plans of the Church Missionary Society. In 1887 missionary enthusiasm in female circles at home, particularly in connection with the Keswick Conventions, became so great that in one year 17 lady missionaries offered themselves to the Society, 10 of whom were ready to go out at their own expense. As urgent requests were continually coming in from the mission field for women missionaries, the Committee at length gave way. That they were in the right in so doing is proved by the rapid increase in the numbers of their women workers: between 1887 and 1894 this Society alone sent out 214 women missionaries; by June 1905 the number had increased to 410. From time to time it has made attempts to absorb the C.E.Z.M.S., but this Society has preferred to remain independent. And the parent Society and its Auxiliary have come to an honourable arrangement by which the latter sends its members almost exclusively to India, by far the most important mission field for women missionaries, whilst the parent body supplies independently all vacancies in other fields that may arise.

As at the present time practically all missionary societies carrying on any work at all in India send out women missionaries, and as many societies which have no other work there (such as the Protestant Episcopal Church of North America) participate at least in zenana missions, it would be wearisome to review in detail the many different contingents of this great army of women missionaries. Many societies have quite a host of them. Thus the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, the old Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society, maintains 104 women missionaries with 53 women helpers, a native staff of 191 women teachers and nurses, and 84 Bible women; in 4375 zenanas which it visits it has 2728 pupils under regular instruction, 3208 more scholars in its 64 day schools, hospitals or dispensaries in 5 towns with 1892 patients and

nearly 100,000 consultations per annum, and it spends yearly on this many-sided activity over £25,000. (These were the figures for its jubilee year, 1902.) The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society has 228 women missionaries and 100 women helpers, a native staff of 800 Bible women, schoolmistresses, etc., and spends about £42,500 yearly. Some two-thirds of its entire work is carried on in India. Nearly all the greater women's missionary societies have central headquarters somewhere in India, whence the infinitely varied work of each society is directed and superintended: such are the headquarters of the C.E.Z. at Palamcottah, the Women's Mission Association of the S.P.G. at Delhi, the Women's Auxiliary of the United Free Church of Scotland at Madras, etc. To get any idea of the diversity of the work accomplished, one must reside at some of these central stations and study their working. Women's work is not spread equally over the whole land: in Calcutta and the vicinity there are 103 women missionaries (as against 99 missionaries); 6 training colleges for schoolmistresses, Bible women, etc. (corresponding with 6 training colleges for catechists); 11 girls' boarding-schools, with 990 scholars (12 boarding-schools for boys with 659 scholars); whilst in 15,600 regularly visited zenanas 7600 scholars receive instruction. In the remaining portions of Bengal there are 46 women missionaries as compared with 33 men; in the United Provinces 22 women missionaries against 98 men; and in the Punjab 162 women as against 95 men. In the Madras Presidency there are 248 women missionaries as against 301 males. More and more does the number of women missionaries in each district approximate nowadays to the number of male missionaries, and sometimes they outnumber the men. The missionary census of 1900—the safest statistical basis—enumerates a total of 976 missionaries in the whole of India and 1174 women missionaries, *i.e.* nearly 200 more women than men. In both these numbers the Eurasian element is included; but though it is certainly more considerable in the case of women missionaries than amongst the men, still the percentage cannot be anything like so high as it was in the previous period, 1854–1880. And unless we are greatly mistaken, the number of women missionaries is still steadily mounting: from 479 in 1881 it had risen to 711 in 1890, and in the succeeding decade to 1174—*i.e.* an increase during the last-named period of 463, or nearly equal to the entire number of women missionaries in 1881.

Whether this be an essentially healthy state of things or not, opinions differ in England and America. Let us endeavour to form an unbiased opinion. That there is a great sphere of work for a much larger number of women missionaries amongst

the 40 million zenana women, and the number of women at least as great who, because of the Indian ideas on the place of woman and on morality, can never be influenced by male missionaries and their assistants, is not open to a moment's doubt. Everywhere in India the question to-day is no longer, "How can we open up the zenanas?" but rather, "Where can we obtain workers to enter the doors that open to us on every side?" The peculiar conditions of zenana life render it imperative on each woman worker to take up only a comparatively limited circle of work, at most a couple of dozen zenanas, and thus a large number of women missionaries can be collocated together without trespassing on one another's particular sphere. After missionaries had devoted over half a century solely to work amongst men, it was time to enter upon work for women in all earnestness, and the more so because it was very easy to see that the latter clung most tenaciously of all to old heathen beliefs and usages.

But the more affectionate and intimate the relations between the women missionaries and those living in zenanas become, the more severely is any interruption of the regularity of visits paid there felt; and such are unfortunately only too frequent, and work is only too often handed on from one pair of hands to another. And the changes in the personnel of the lady missionaries are particularly frequent. For this there are a number of reasons. That in reality single or widowed missionaries cannot do better than marry a lady missionary has been already mentioned; but it is not a matter so greatly to be desired that other Anglo-Indians, civil servants and merchants, should not infrequently turn in this direction when seeking a wife. Further, the work in the zenanas is exhausting and irritating, and of course this is precisely the case in proportion to the number of visits paid by the women missionaries and the extent to which they engage in educational work within the zenanas. Very frequently their health can endure such a strain for a few years at the outside. Then amongst these ladies are many who have gone out wholly or in part at their own expense and who possess sufficient means to live comfortably at home. It lies in the nature of things that such workers are more independent of the missionary committees, and are more easily frightened away from their post by obstacles, illness, or disappointment than one dependent on the Committee for her whole livelihood. Then, too, whilst both in England and America a certain measure of intellectual training and theological equipment is fortunately always demanded of male candidates before they can be accepted as missionaries, members of the women's committees are often disposed to lower the

standard of education in the case of female candidates and to rest content with the general culture possessed by a person belonging to the ordinary educated classes in those countries. The number of special preparatory schools for women missionaries is but small, and only a small percentage of those sent out have passed through such institutions. Comfort is found in the reflection that for zenana visiting and teaching in elementary girl schools such a standard may suffice. That may be partly true; but it does not guarantee that unsuitable persons will not be sent out, persons whose little blaze of enthusiasm will die down only too quickly beneath the oppressive glowing heat of the Indian cities. It is principally in the matter of capability and perseverance in thoroughly learning Indian languages and in gaining a thorough knowledge of the Indian mind and its ways of thought that this faulty training tells; it is self-evident that for the delicate individual dealing which zenana work entails, a thorough knowledge of the language and a sympathetic comprehension of the Indian thought-world is indispensable. And it is just in this respect that one hears the most keen regret expressed with regard to many women missionaries, illustrious exceptions, of course, being always allowed for.

With the rapid increase in the number of women missionaries, their work has been extended in many directions. The two main branches of it have naturally continued to be teaching in girls' schools and visiting the zenanas. The number of girls' schools has now grown to 1600 with 83,622 scholars (as against 47,276 in 1881), and the number of zenanas regularly visited is given as 51,932 with some 39,894 under instruction. Concerning the work of lady doctors we shall speak in the next section of the present chapter.

As India is so pre-eminently a land of villages, it was only to be expected that women missionaries, having started in the large towns, should presently extend their sphere of operations to the country districts and make attempts at itinerant work. At first it must have been a truly remarkable sight for the Hindus to see single ladies journeying for weeks up and down the country alone with their tents and their servants. But they had already grown accustomed to so many, to them, astounding habits on the part of their rulers that they soon became reconciled to this one also. And as the Hindus are in general so harmless that a stranger may travel from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, either along the populous main lines of communication or through the remotest jungles, unarmed, women missionaries encounter no more peril on these long journeys than they would at home; the only difference is that the Indian climate has always to be reckoned with. These village

missions have received much attention by women missionaries. At the beginning of the cool season hundreds of them start off across the country in every direction, gathering about them wherever they go the women and children of the villages and hamlets. They are particularly welcome guests when they bring with them a well-filled medicine chest and know how to make a good use of it. Since about 1880 these village missions have formed a recognised branch of women's missionary work, especially in North India.

7. Medical Missions

In India, as in other mission fields, nearly all missionaries have at some time or other been in a position to use whatever measure of medical skill they possessed in the healing of disease; and many of them have been able to accomplish much good by means of this modest service of love, even although they may not have enjoyed the advantages of special medical training. For a long time past, therefore, it has been deemed advisable that all young missionaries should be instructed in at least the elements of medicine. India has been *the* country *par excellence* in which, from the very commencement of the English occupation, medical men have demonstrated what brilliant service they were capable of rendering to their race. It was a doctor—Dr. Gabriel Boughton—who in 1636, in return for medical assistance he had been able to afford the Great Moghul, Shah Jehan, obtained permission from that grateful monarch for Englishmen to settle at various ports on the Coromandel coast. Another doctor, Hamilton by name, materially aided the objects of a British Embassy, which he accompanied in 1713, by curing another Great Moghul of a painful malady. These and similar examples early pointed out what a large degree of support Protestant missions might hope to derive from medical skill.

From the first there have always been some doctors in the ranks of the missionaries who have practised medicine to a greater or less extent. The first we read of was Justus Heurnius, a Dutchman (1624–1638). The Danish Mission sent out quite a number of doctors—Messrs. Schlegelmilch, Cnoll, König, Martins, and Klein. The first named died within a fortnight of his arrival; the second greatly injured the Mission by his worldly spirit and dissolute behaviour; whilst the third subsequently entered the service of the Nawab of Arcot. Of the Moravian missionaries who carried on their quiet, unassuming ministry in the "Garden of the Brethren" at Tranquebar

(1759–1804), one, Dr. Betschler, contributed no small sum by his medical practice to the support of his colleagues. Carey's first colleague was a surgeon, Dr. Thomas, who, however, despite much goodwill, by his rash conduct and constant falling into debt proved more of a hindrance than a help to Carey's work. The farther we advance into the nineteenth century the greater number of men do we meet with who were, in the modern sense of the word, medical missionaries—that is, men who placed their medical skill at the service of the missionary enterprise and who sought to use it as an instrument in the saving of souls. But there was as yet no clear perception of the methods of working to be followed nor of the particular tasks devolving upon medical labour as a special branch of missionary organisation. The first and perhaps most distinguished of these early practitioners was Dr. John Scudder, who was sent out by the American Baptists to North Ceylon in 1819, and who, until his return to North America in 1854,[1] toiled with undaunted enthusiasm in the Jaffna district of Ceylon, in the district of Madura, in the neighbourhood of Madras, and in and around Arcot, preaching and healing—a true pioneer, especially of the Arcot Mission. At this time the American Board was far ahead of all other societies working in India in the sending out of thoroughly trained medical men. In North Ceylon it had Dr. Nathan Ward (1833–1847) and the ardent and able Dr. Samuel Green (from 1847 onwards); in Madura, Dr. Steele (1837–1842), Dr. Charles Sheldon (1849–1856), Dr. Lord (1853–1867); and in the Arcot district, working together with his father, Dr. Henry Scudder (from 1851). The London Missionary Society endeavoured to begin medical work in its South Travancore Mission; but the first man to be sent out, Dr. Ramsay (1838–1842), threw up his work and retired, and the second, Dr. Leitch (1852–1854), was drowned whilst bathing. Better known are two missionaries sent out by the American Baptists, Dr. Otis Bachelor, an American who went out in 1840, and an Englishman, Dr. Williamson; the one worked for long years in the Balasore and Midnapur districts of Western Bengal, the other at the river stations in Eastern Bengal. In 1858, however, there were only seven fully qualified medical missionaries in the whole of India.

The twenty-five years succeeding the Mutiny (1857–1882) is the period during which the real foundation of this work was laid. But even during those years medical mission work was conducted on a very small scale; at the end of the period there were only twenty-eight medical missionaries in the field. At first their work was of only one type. The London Missionary

[1] He died in 1855.

Society again took up, with boundless energy and a splendid staff of agents, the frequently interrupted work in South Travancore. Dr. Lowe (1861–1868), Dr. Thomson (1873–1884), and Dr. Sargood Fry (1883–1892) made their hospital station at Neyoor the centre of a vast activity (embracing fifteen sub-hospitals and dispensaries) and a model institution of its kind. At the same time they were bound by ties of close sympathy and fellowship to the Medical Missionary Society of Edinburgh (founded in 1843), the secretaries and leading spirits of which were successively two Neyoor doctors, Drs. Lowe (1868–1892) and Fry (from 1892).

Through their united efforts general recognition, especially in Scotch missionary circles, was won for the watchword of the Edinburgh Society, "Preach and Heal," and medical missions, justifying themselves by the examples of Christ's miracles of healing, took rank along with evangelistic and educational missions. Two considerations were, and are still, skilfully advanced to strengthen this position. The practice of the credulous and ignorant quack doctors of India, the so-called hakims, is everywhere overgrown with heathenish superstitions; it takes its root in superstition, and seeks to impress superstitious fancies upon the minds of the people. By the introduction of a rational treatment of the sick, especially when this is accompanied by illuminating and convincing preaching, a crushing blow has been struck at superstition. In the second place, missionaries are bound to make it a matter of conscience with their converts to renounce once and for all their hakims, and in times of sickness to apply solely to doctors who have received a scientific training. To set limitations of this nature would be as impracticable as it is unjust unless the missionary societies were also to undertake that a sufficient number of trustworthy doctors should be forthcoming.

These ideas took root especially in the Scotch missions, which now take the lead in this department. The new mission of the United Presbyterians in Rajputana was richly supplied with medical men from the very beginning, among them being splendid men like Dr. Shoolbred, Dr. Colin Valentine, and others. Nearly every mission station became a centre for medical work and was equipped with a hospital: 1862, Beawar; 1873, Ajmer and Nazirabad; 1877, Udaipur; and somewhat later (1885), Jodhpur. Valentine's medical skill opened the closed doors of the state and city of Jodhpur (1866) and Valentine himself was made Physician to the Maharajah (till 1874). The Scotch Free Church (which united with the United Presbyterians in the year 1900) shared the same views, and began slowly to equip all its great Indian stations with hospitals

and medical missionaries: Madras (Royapurum, a women's hospital), 1857; Pachamba, 1871; Tundi, 1889; Chakai, 1890—the three Santal stations; Thana, near Bombay, 1877; Nagpur, 1886; Bhandara, 1888; Wardha, 1895; Jalna, 1890; Kulna, on the Hooghly, 1894; Walajabad, 1889; and Conjeeveram, 1903. In each case the date denotes the year when the hospitals at the various stations were opened; medical missionary work generally started considerably earlier. Also the English Presbyterians, who stand in close relationship to the Free Church of Scotland, followed the latter's example at their one Indian station of Rampur Bauleah in Bengal (1878. The hospital was opened in 1894). But beyond this comparatively small circle the new department was only extended, for the time being, sporadically; and although the Scotch views found inspired and eloquent exponents, yet more sober onlookers discovered many weak spots; so that through these arguments alone medical missions would scarcely have won general approbation and recognition. The necessary apparatus is cumbersome and expensive. To lead up to the Healer of Souls by way of medical treatment is after all a roundabout method, and roundabout methods ought only to be adopted when direct methods have proved to be failures. The conviction is everywhere gaining ground that nothing should be given in charity, because it easily does more harm than good. Gratuitous medical assistance on a large scale, however, may easily partake of the character of charity, especially when it benefits such as are not altogether penniless; and no means has been discovered whereby adequate payment for medical treatment may be levied. Nevertheless, the benefits conferred by this almost universally gratuitous medical attendance are for the heathen such a convincing and illuminating object-lesson of the Religion of Love that in every part of the country we find hospitals similar to those already referred to being erected even in our own day. We will here merely mention that the Basle Missionary Society has begun medical work at Calicut (1885) under the direction of Dr. Liebendörfer, at Betigeri, and at a number of dispensaries.

The renaissance of medical missions dates from the time when two new and important branches of this particular work were developed on a large scale—about 1882. Ever since the time when, as a result of the rapid increase in the number of women missionaries, special interest has been directed to mission work amongst women, the great need of these latter, particularly in times of sickness, has lain heavily on the hearts of all lovers of missions. Medical aid was difficult for men to obtain, but it was practically non-existent, because of caste and

the zenana system, for their wives and daughters. And the more women missionaries penetrated into the hidden world of the zenanas the more awful were the pictures they painted of the dire distress and neglect reigning therein. As the zenanas were closed against the hakims as well as against the missionary doctor, there arose one far-resounding cry that met with a speedy response: "We must have lady doctors." The modest beginnings of this kind of work date from two decades earlier. It was in 1860 that the American Episcopal Methodists commissioned their first female medical missionary, Dr. Clara Swain, to start work in North India (though she had been in the country since 1857). In 1867 that active woman missionary, Mrs. Winter, of the S.P.G., commenced her service of love amongst the sick women of Delhi. At Hoshangabad a small women's hospital was erected by the Quakers in 1878. Then at one stroke two great zenana societies determined to launch out on a large scale into this new department of work: the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. The first of these had already made a start with a dispensary for women in 1876; not only was this developed in 1887 to a great hospital, but further large women's hospitals were built in Benares, Ajuthia (Ajodhya), and Patna. The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, which had been founded in 1880, devoted special attention from the first to the new department of service, particularly in the Punjab; there women's hospitals were erected in quick succession at Amritsar (1880), Jandiala (1882; complete hospital opened 1894), and Peshawar (1884). Further, at several branch stations lying within a more or less accessible distance from Amritsar, branch hospitals with dispensaries for women and children were founded, and at Krishnagar in Bengal (1889) and at Bangalore in the Mysore (1891) immense hospitals for women were erected. The C.E.Z.M.S. alone has now twelve lady doctors in its service. By the work of these societies two great examples had been given, and other societies were not slow to follow suit, especially as it was impossible to deny the weight of the arguments which had led to the new departure.

The missionary societies, however, were soon to find eager rivals in this particular field. The misery and distress of women in cases of sickness was so appalling that the noble consort of Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy (1884–1888), determined to make a great effort towards applying some measure of relief. In 1886 she founded a "National Association for supplying Medical Aid to the Women of India." Before this Association she placed three distinct goals: the training of competent women doctors, nurses, and midwives; the erection of hospitals

for women; and the private nursing of the sick in the zenanas. But in the pursuit of these objects she forbade, in the most emphatic fashion, the carrying on of any religious propaganda whatsoever, and most of all of any Christian propaganda. The Empress Victoria bestowed her patronage upon the Association. Funds poured in from all quarters. One old lady bequeathed £12,000, a Parsi £10,000, a Muhammadan publisher at Lucknow £1500, and so on. The first annual report announced receipts of over £23,000.

To-day the Association maintains seventy-four women doctors and fifty-two assistants, whilst two hundred and fifty-seven women students are enabled by its funds to attend various medical colleges. At first missionaries used every effort to transform the religious indifference of so influential an organisation into something more favourable to Christianity. But it was all in vain; and they have come to see, in an association carried on solely from humanitarian motives, an ally in the work of sweeping away the unutterable misery of the women of India.

The Church Missionary Society took a new departure. Its Kashmir Mission had been commenced in 1864 by a medical missionary, Dr. Elmslie, a most capable and devoted man, who was cut down in the heyday of his service in 1872. He and his successors, Dr. Maxwell (1873–1875), Dr. Downes (1875–1881), and the brothers Neve (since 1881 and 1886 respectively), succeeded in the most marvellous way, not only in overcoming the opposition of the Maharajah but also in preparing a way for the messengers of the gospel amongst a fanatic and indolent people. The Church Missionary Society determined to use the same key which had been so successfully used in Kashmir to unlock other hearts specially set against its workers; and first of all in the Punjab, which, owing to the preponderance of a fanatical Muhammadan population on the one hand, and on the other, to the wild, cruel Afghan and Baluchi tribes on the west and north-west frontiers, presented a problem of exceptional difficulty. Here they laid down a chain of stations largely, if not exclusively, for medical work: in 1868 at Tank, in 1879 at Dera Ghazi Khan, in 1882 at Amritsar, in 1885 at Multan, in 1886 at Quetta (the newly annexed Frontier district), in 1890 at Dera Ismail Khan, and in 1894 at Bannu. A hospital was also opened in 1897 at Peshawar, where medical work had already been in progress for a considerable period; to the men's hospital at Srinagar in Kashmir was added one for women at Islamabad, in the immediate neighbourhood, in 1902; and at Kangra and Kotgarh doctors were stationed in order that tours both for purposes of preaching and of healing might be made among the far-stretching spurs of the Himalayas.

Large gifts of money encouraged the Society to continue to extend its work in this direction: the Dera Ismail Khan hospital was built with a legacy of £1500 left by Maxwell Gordon, the missionary who fell at Kandahar; and the women's hospital at Islamabad was erected by the famous traveller, Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop, in memory of her deceased husband, Dr. John Bishop, and then handed over to the Society.[1]

This third development, the employment of medical missions as a means for obtaining a foothold in especially difficult districts, has found many supporters, more particularly in the Punjab. The American Presbyterians had already sent out medical missionaries on preaching and healing tours, *e.g.* Dr. John Newton in 1858, Dr. Carleton in 1881, and Dr. C. W. Forman in 1883. Later they laid emphasis on providing medical assistance for women and children, and established hospitals for women at Ambala and Jagraon (near Ludhiana). The American United Presbyterians opened women's hospitals at Jhelum (1890) and Sialkot (1887), whilst the Church of Scotland, working hand in hand with the last-named Society, erected similar hospitals at Chamba (1894), Gujarat (1895), and Jalalpur (1899). The Punjab thus became the favourite territory of medical missions.

From the first, medical missionaries have been much occupied in training a competent and well-equipped staff of native helpers. They need them as much for every fresh extension of the work when new hospitals and dispensaries are founded as for the ordinary care of the sick and in the dispensing of medicines. And this need has been as urgent in women's hospitals as in those for men. Down to about 1880 efforts were made to get over the difficulty by forming teaching classes of the young men or young women, as the case might be, who had the requisite amount of previous preparation: from 1847 onwards Dr. Grant of Jaffna (American Board), Miss Hewlett of Amritsar (C.E.Z.M.S.), and Dr. Dease of Bareilly (American

[1] The munificent gifts received from Hindus and Muhammadans alike for medical missions are one of the most encouraging features of Indian missionary history and an incontrovertible proof of the real gratitude of the Indian people. When the American Baptist hospital for men at Madura required rebuilding, the Hindus, with the Prince of Ramnad at their head, collected the whole of the funds required, some 44,000 rupees. The hospital at Udaipur, a beautiful building containing fifty beds, was a present from the Prince of Mewar to the United Free Church of Scotland. And the handsome new hospital at Jodhpur in Rajputana was erected largely at the cost of the Rajah, who earlier had been one of the bitterest opponents of missions. Towards the United Free Church of Scotland's hospital at Kulna, Bengal, a subscription of 20,500 rupees was given by the Government in 1904. At Nasik the Brahmans have presented the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission with a hospital. Other cases might be cited.

Episcopal Methodist) all conducted such classes.[1] But progress in this direction was only possible on territory not absolutely British, such as South Travancore; the Neyoor hospital of the L.M.S. has shown itself to be a most successful nursery for the training of a body of native doctors. In British India private medical training of this sort has been more and more rendered impossible by the increasing definite qualifications demanded of medical practitioners and by the regulation that they must pass certain examinations and produce certain testimonials. The missionaries have had to make up their minds in such cases to let those young Christians who were suitable take a regular course of study. In order to help the young men to make the most of their studies, a Scotch missionary, Dr. Colin Valentine, gave up his post as Physician to the Maharajah of Jaipur and founded at Agra in 1881 the Agra Medical Missionary Training Institute. There he trained young medical students entrusted to his care by quite a number of missionary societies, and supplemented their studies at the Government School of Medicine in Agra by means of scientific and practical courses. By systematic evangelical instruction he trained them at the same time for mission work.[2] The experiment was made of sending women students also to the Government Schools; but the contact with heathen men students had such bad effects that it soon became evident that capable Indian lady doctors and dispensers, possessed of spiritual as well as mental qualifications for missionary work, could only be trained in a special medical school for Christian women students. Two English women medical missionaries, Dr. Edith Brown and Miss Greenfield, took the far-reaching project in hand, and in the autumn of 1894 the "North India School of Medicine for Christian Women" was founded at Ludhiana in the Punjab.[3] The Charlotte Hospital (which had been founded by the enterprising Miss Greenfield in 1889) was the first training school; when this did not suffice, a second, the Memorial Hospital, was put up in 1898. Four women medical missionaries and one fully qualified nurse compose the teaching faculty. Three courses were arranged: the full medical course of five years with a special Government examination and an obligatory examination in obstetrics; another course for the training of women dispensers also closing with a Government examination; and a

[1] Dr. Grant also worked at the translation of technical medical terms into Tamil and the composition of text-books in the various branches of medicine for the instruction of his own students.

[2] When Dr. Valentine was obliged to return to Scotland in 1901, he was succeeded by a Scotch medical missionary, Dr. William Huntley.

[3] From another quarter but for similar reasons the Lady Lyall Medical School for Females had been established at Lucknow in 1887.

simpler course on sick nursing. The number of students has increased rapidly; there are now forty of them. After some reluctance the Punjab University has consented to affiliate this unique institution, provided certain additional development takes place. A medical faculty recognised by the State, and founded by five fairly young medical women, is certainly one of the most original developments in the whole history of Indian missions!

In the year 1882, at the beginning of the period which we have characterised as the golden age of medical missions, there were 28 medical missionaries in India. By 1895 this number had increased to 140, who had 168 native helpers and in whose care there were some 166 hospitals and dispensaries. At the beginning of the year 1905 there were 280 medical missionaries of both sexes. We have three almost contemporaneous and valuable sketches of medical mission work.[1] According to them, there were in India in 1905 ninety missionary hospitals and at least 212 dispensaries, more than a quarter of the total being in the Punjab. In the year chosen by Dennis for his investigations, 22,503 patients were treated for a longer or shorter period in the hospitals, and 842,600 other patients in the dispensaries, whither two and a half million visits were paid by the doctors. The widest activity is that in connection with the Neyoor Hospital (L.M.S.) in South Travancore, which has 13 branch hospitals and dispensaries. Dr. Arthur Fells, the Director, has a staff of 33 assistants, almost all of them trained by himself in the different hospitals. 1641 hospital patients, 84,859 dispensary patients (making 135,557 visits), and 4225 home patients receive treatment during the year.

A rival of the Neyoor Hospital is the great unattached medical mission at Ranaghat in Bengal, which was founded in 1893 by James Monro, a former Commissioner of the London Police, and is still largely maintained and directed by him and by members of his family.[2] It embraces two hospitals and four dispensaries, and in 1899 treated 490 patients in the hospitals and 33,114 in the dispensaries (with 77,465 medical visits). Another famous institution is that of the Church Missionary Society at Srinagar, directed by the brothers Neve and containing 150 beds. During the year it gives medical aid to 1525 patients in the hospital and to 18,973 (with 41,629 medical visits) in its dispensaries. In connection with the St.

[1] The *Missionary Tables* for 1900, Dennis's *Centennial Survey* (p. 193), and Dr. Feldmann's diligent monograph, *Die ärztliche Mission unter Heiden und Mohammedanern* (Basle, 1905). Cf. also the *Quarterly Paper of the Edinburgh Medical Mission Society* (1905, p. 84).

[2] On January 1st, 1906, Monro made over his entire mission to the Church Missionary Society.

Catherine's Hospital for Women at Amritsar (C.E.Z.M.S.) no less than 12,000 women were attended at their houses during confinement in the year 1899. These few figures may suffice to give some idea of the stream of Christian benevolence which is pouring forth from these fountain-heads of love across the parched, arid, and loveless tracts of heathenism.[1]

8. Missions to Lepers

Work amongst lepers is closely related to medical missions. Its chief distinction, omitting others of lesser importance, is that it is for the most part carried on not by doctors but by ordinary men and women missionaries. Leprosy is very common in India. It is true the census of 1890 recorded only 114,239 lepers and that of 1901 only 90,000; but the number is really far higher than this, because the Hindus conceal leprosy as long as possible, in fear of its consequences—ostracism from caste, etc. Although there are districts in India in which leprosy is found only sporadically, there are others where it occurs with fearful frequency. In the very thickly populated province of Bengal five in every thousand are lepers; in the districts of Bankura and Birbhum there are as many as 36·3 per thousand! And yet it is only during the last few years that any even general precautions have been taken against this scourge. What was done here and there for lepers, whether locally or by private initiative, we shall recount later when we come to speak of the work of the Leper Mission. Only since 1890 has the Government seriously faced the question. In 1890 and 1891 a Leprosy Commission went all over the country at the request of the Government. Its recommendations resulted in the Leprosy Act of 1896, which is applicable to the entire country. Its regulations—which as a matter of fact are only partly adopted in the provinces and protected states—distinguish between the lepers who are capable of following a trade and those who are habitual beggars. These latter are to be gathered in asylums to be built in every part of the country, and to be interned at the expense of the State, especially when they are found exposing their wounds in order to excite charity. The lepers able to exercise a trade are allowed to take their choice as to whether they enter these asylums or not. But if they elect to remain outside, certain restrictions are laid upon their movements: they may not avail themselves of any public means of con-

[1] Medical missionaries in India have since 1895 had an organ of their own, *Medical Missions in India*, which is published at Ajmer.

[illegible]

[illegible] William Carey, who founded the first refuge for lepers in Calcutta.[1] He [illegible] self-denying [illegible] not only [illegible] personally and in the most [illegible] share in tending the lepers, binding [illegible] and burying their dead. Then towards the end of the [illegible] Captain (later General) Sir J. Ramsay founded the Leper Hospital in Almora, the oldest of these missionary asylums [illegible] in existence, and in [illegible] he placed the direction of it in the hands of Budden, a zealous missionary belonging to the London Missionary Society. And then, finally, the American Presbyterians and the Church of Scotland built a couple of small leper hospitals at Sabathu and Ambala. These last proved to be the starting-point of a much greater enterprise by means of which missions to lepers were to justify their existence and their right to become an independent branch of evangelical missionary work. This enterprise is connected with the name of Wellesley Bailey, an Irish missionary.

Bailey had gone out to India in 1868, and was engaged in secular employment.[2] This, however, he resigned the following

[1] Smith, *William Carey*, p. 256.
[2] C. E. Carson, *The Story of the Mission to Lepers*, 2nd edition.

year and entered the missionary service, working first under the American Presbyterians and then under the Church of Scotland in the Punjab. His attention was early directed to the lepers by Dr. J. Morrison, and owing to his interest in them, the charge of a small leper hospital at Ambala was entrusted to him. During a series of preaching tours through the entire north-western region of India, he came to realise, with eyes that had been opened by his term of hospital work at Ambala, the unspeakable misery of the lepers, who, cast out by their relatives and neighbours, were forced to eke out a wretched existence as beggars by the roadside, in a constant condition of starvation and filth, without comfort or hope in the world.

In 1874 he returned to his native country, Ireland, on furlough. Here his heart overflowed. Again and again, in speeches and addresses, he depicted the wretchedness of the lepers of India and pleaded that he might have a yearly sum of £30 for their relief. He obtained more than he asked for. His little pamphlet *Lepers in India* called public attention to the matter. A "Mission to Lepers in India" was founded, and Bailey was able to return to the field with a sum of £600. The new Society resolved from the beginning to send out no missionaries of its own but to work in conjunction with existing organisations, and through them to found new leper hospitals or to support and provide for the spiritual side of the work in those already erected. Applications for aid from the funds of the Society soon began to pour in from the different members of Bailey's wide circle of acquaintance. The hospitals at Sabathu, Almora, and Ambala were enlarged and a new one built by the Church of Scotland at Chamba. The Society developed in proportion as the need for it became clearer. In 1878 it was able to constitute itself as a Missionary Society proper, and ten years later, on a thorough revision of its statutes being made, a proper committee was appointed, thus giving it, so to speak, a right to a voice in all general missionary councils. The then Vicereine of India, Lady Dufferin, became its patroness, the Archbishop of Dublin its President, the pick of the missionary secretaries of the great societies its Vice-Presidents, and Bailey himself Superintendent of the whole work.

One cannot but admire the power of adaptation possessed by this Society in everywhere accommodating itself to existing circumstances and in establishing itself at the least possible expense. Care for the lepers and the erection of refuges for them is primarily, as was officially recognised by the already cited Leper Act of 1896, a duty of the State and of the

municipal and provincial authorities. As the Government provision for such cases is, however, still lamentably insufficient, the missionary societies are compelled, at any rate for the present, to take a large share in this labour of love. "The Mission to Lepers" assists in the erection of refuges, often with considerable sums; it also builds such refuges on its own account, on condition that the Society whose interests lie nearest to that particular place agrees to assume all responsibilities of management; and it also pays for the cost of the inmates' board in all the leper refuges connected with it. Besides this, it endeavours to make use of every existing or newly erected refuge for the purpose of exercising its own special task, the supplying of the lepers with the Word of God. But with what a gradation and variety of refuges for lepers the Society finds itself confronted! We give only a few typical instances, as a visit to them all would carry us too far and would prove fatiguing because of its uniformity.

Half a mile from the famous pilgrim shrine of Baidyanath or Deogarh in Bengal there is a public leper asylum consisting of three well-built houses; a "bhisti" draws water, a "mehtar" attends to the cleaning[1]—these are the sole domestics on the place. There is no "chaukidar" (overseer) to insist on fair play, no doctor or medical assistant binds up their wounds: both sexes live together just as they like. Their daily rations consist of one pound of rice, two and a half ounces of lentils, a little salt, and—a halfpenny! If they need anything more they must beg for it. We can easily understand that when Miss Adams (American Methodist Episcopal Church) and her Bible woman visited this place they had the greatest difficulty in the world in making themselves heard amid these ragged hordes of beggars.

At Sehore in Bhopal in July 1891 the Begam[2] ordered all lepers to be interned in a barn-like building situated on some rising ground. A "chaukidar" was appointed to watch them as if they were prisoners. Men and women were lodged in two separate courtyards. Members of the various religious denominations were permitted to take an interest in the lepers or not, just as they pleased. Was it any wonder that

[1] It is well known that each caste will only perform its own particular duties. We may here mention that the series of pictures given in the text are selected from varying periods within the last twenty years. The Mission to Lepers has gone so enthusiastically to work in the erection and improvement of leper asylums that most of the modest shelters put up at the beginning have been replaced within a few years by substantial buildings.

[2] It should be stated that even this provision was furnished at the entreaty of Colonel Wylie, the truly Christian Political Agent for Central Bhopal, and that some of the funds for the building were obtained by Colonel Wylie from England. —Translator's Note.

Charles D. Terrell, a Quaker missionary, should at first be looked on with suspicion and his efforts to get a catechist appointed to the asylum be regarded from a standpoint we may almost characterise as hostile? But Christian love and patience gained the day; Mr. Terrell succeeded in winning the confidence of the unfortunate lepers, and soon a small nucleus of Christians was formed.

The town of Saharanpur in the United Provinces built an asylum for male lepers and another for females on opposite sides of the town. But what a state they were in! The houses were almost in ruins, there was no "bhisti" to carry water, no "mehtar" to clean the premises, no doctor for the sick; and as the two rupees eight annas paid monthly for their board was inadequate, the lepers were forced to go out and beg to avoid starvation. Under such circumstances it was a splendid thing when a competent teacher, a leper himself from the Almora Hospital, came to establish law and order at the asylum for men—himself the only Christian amongst them—and to reveal light and comfort to them from the Word of God. And Dr. Forman (American Presbyterian) did quite right in endeavouring to gain complete missionary control for the two asylums.

The Baba Laikhan settlement in the same neighbourhood was far better fitted up; although it only gave shelter to forty lepers, it had a complete staff: a native doctor, a "dhobi" (washer of linen), a "mali" (gardener), a "bhisti," a "mehtar," and a "bania" (buyer in). Each leper received sufficient aid: three rupees eight annas per mensem, and in addition vegetables and clothing materials. There was a drug store and even a tiny mosque—thirty-two of the patients being Muhammadans. In this case, however, there was a responsible governing body and Christian work could be undertaken systematically. Rev. Dr. Martin (American United Presbyterian) was its Superintendent, and a Christian teacher and his wife visited the asylum daily.

Far larger was the leper settlement under Government inspection near Tarn Taran in the Punjab. Here the wise step had been taken of erecting three separate rows of buildings for Hindus, Muhammadans, and Christians. At first the native doctor refused to hear of admitting Christians to the settlement. They were either denied admission or told to renounce their faith. They had the courage to answer, "We will not and we cannot deny Christ," and in the end their application was accepted. The Edinburgh Society concerned itself with these Christian lepers and built them a small church; Rev. E. Guilford (C.M.S.) regularly taught them from the Word of God. In 1903

the Punjab Government made over the entire leper colony to the direction of the Edinburgh Society, and enabled it to entirely rebuild the settlement. The imposing new leper hospital was inaugurated on April 9th, 1904.

A model institution is that erected by the Municipality of Bombay at Matunga in 1891. It was highly necessary at Bombay. The lepers had taken possession of the Dharmsala Poorhouse, and here in filth and immorality they led a comfortless beggar's life. Just at the right time, however, a Parsi, Sir Dinshaw Petit, placed a considerable sum at the disposal of the city authorities for the express purpose of erecting a municipal leper settlement. This asylum soon contained three hundred lepers. It is well ventilated, serviceably fitted up with seven sick wards and a hospital for advanced cases; a native doctor is in charge. The Leper Mission found, however, considerable difficulties in commencing operations here. The Muhammadans had their mosque, the Hindus a temple, the Roman Catholics a chapel in which mass is regularly celebrated by a priest. But there was only one Protestant leper in the place. Happily he was an old teacher, and as the Christians held together he was able to start a school for the children. A Bible woman attached to the American Board goes every week to minister to the women and to strengthen the hands of the teacher in his difficult calling.

Far more beautiful for situation—one might almost call it ideal were it not for the desperate condition of those for whom it is built—is the Maclaren Settlement for Lepers in Dehra Dun at the foot of the Himalayas. Three Government doctors deserve the credit for the erection and equipment of this model institution; it bears the name of the first of them. It is an extensive settlement with pretty, airy wooden houses. Behind there stretches a large garden with all kinds of fruit trees and vegetables; the paths and flower-beds are bordered with tea shrubs which in some cases rise to the height of hedges; across the various watercourses are thrown handsome stone bridges. And the centre of the whole establishment is a neat, spotless kitchen, in which a faithful leper catechist daily conducts morning prayers and later in the day a school. Ullmann, a missionary of the American Presbyterians, took a deep interest in the patients and, as long as his strength allowed, conducted worship amongst them every Sabbath. Pastor Bose, a native minister who has the special pastoral charge of the institution, was to be seen almost daily in the huts of the lepers. It was no wonder that 55 of the 135 patients came over to Christianity. Such a settlement as this is only possible under European management. For many years an unhappy English leper, a true Christian,

Mr. Jackson, superintended the establishment. He had been taught by his own heavy cross to devote himself to tireless service amongst his miserable fellow-sufferers.[1]

More uniform and regular in its essential features is the work in the leper asylums which the Mission to Lepers has either built or which it maintains in connection with other missionary societies. It has always followed the principle of never beginning operations where a missionary society is not already at work or does not declare itself prepared to assume responsibility for the management of an asylum. Nevertheless, we find in these missionary establishments almost the same diversity and almost the same gradation from a primitive refuge to a fully equipped institution as in the buildings owned by the Government. Here too we will give a few sketches at random of the development of various well-known mission settlements during the last twenty years. All these settlements have rapidly reached their present stage of development from the most modest beginnings.

Two native preachers, the brothers Scott (American Reformed Presbyterians), discovered in a mango grove near Muzaffarnagar in the United Provinces a crowd of lepers, who had purchased the right to settle in the grove though nobody took any interest in them; they maintained a miserable existence by begging. The Mission to Lepers began first of all with an attempt to win their confidence by making them a regular monetary contribution and by appointing a medical assistant to bind up their wounds. This was a preparation for the Christian instruction which the Scotts and one of their native helpers imparted to them in the mango grove until it was possible to build at least hastily constructed huts.

At the above-mentioned shrine of Baidyanath, where there were always large numbers of lounging beggar lepers, Miss Adams (American Methodist Episcopalian) had built with her own hands two small clay huts under the shadow of a large tree, in order to provide scanty accommodation for half a dozen sick folk. She provided her charges with food and clothing, and with her Bible woman preached to them faithfully and convincingly the Word of God. Here we have at any rate the germ of a missionary settlement for lepers.

In the Colaba district, to the south of Bombay, a native pastor, J. Bawa (American Board), was deeply touched by the misery of the lepers, and with the help of sums of money received from the Mission to Lepers he constructed two small asylums at Pui and Poladpur. They were certainly of the very simplest character. At Pui a single tile-covered house, standing

[1] In the end he succumbed to his malady there.

in a two-acre plot surrounded by neither fence nor wall, contained a double row of five rooms opening on to verandahs. One side was for men, the other for women. Weak as they were, the poor lepers planted and sowed a portion of the land surrounding the house. Bawa looked after his patients most faithfully; they received all that was necessary for their support, and the gospel was preached to them with power.

At other places no such small beginning could be made. At Chandkuri and Raipur in the Central Provinces, within the sphere of the German Evangelical Missionary Society of America, the famine of the year 1897 had brought hundreds of lepers to the verge of starvation. At Raipur, 167 lepers and 40 untainted children were lodged in a temporary almshouse, and received a scanty modicum of subsistence at the hands of the Government. But the Government did not want them permanently on its hands, and they were just on the point of being turned out upon the roads when the Mission to Lepers declared its readiness to take over the entire almshouse with its 207 inmates and to change it into a missionary shelter. The Mission could not conscientiously allow so many invalids to slide back into a condition of vagabondage. Under the energetic superintendence of German American missionaries (particularly of Rev. Carl Nottrott) this refuge rapidly grew into one of the largest and best directed in India; according to the latest statistics (December 1905) it contained 430 patients.

These were missionary settlements in the making; they bore the marks of the storm and stress of necessity upon them. But such settlements wear a very different appearance when they have developed under careful superintendence. Almora and Chandag (Pithora) both lie in Kumaon on the slopes of the Himalayas. Both are old leper settlements: Almora was as long ago as 1850 under the direction of the L.M.S., Pithora Chandag[1] has been under the Methodist Episcopalians since 1886. Both have an interesting history behind them. At Almora —the settlement is two miles away from the mission station of the same name—the word preached by Budden and his assistants seemed for long years to make no impression. The miserable lepers were dull and obstinate—not until 1864 was the first convert, Musuwa, baptized; but he was a real gem, was soundly converted, and worked with tireless energy for his Master until his death (1891). With his faithful assistance and that of a splendid "chaukidar," Bond, a strong and healthy Christian atmosphere was gradually created in the asylum. Of the 113 present inmates, 109 are Christians. The settlement

[1] The Methodist Episcopalian mission station is called Pithora or Pithoragarh; the leper settlement is at Chandag, some two and a half miles distant.

gives the impression of a Christian hamlet in the most exquisite natural surroundings. Coming across from Almora mission station, one passes through the entrance gate up a shady path bordered on both sides with grass plots and leading to the church. The houses of the lepers lie in ranks along the edge of the hill, and behind them tower up on every side the snow-capped peaks of the Himalayas.

Chandag was founded by that passionately devoted missionary Rev. Mr. Kirk in 1886; he himself went to live in the settlement in order to dwell amongst the lepers, to relieve their wounds and to bury their dead. Unfortunately, he died that same year, 1886, just as he was collecting money for the erection of a little church in his settlement. For a long time Miss Mary Reed,[1] a noble and devoted American lady missionary, lived and worked here. She herself became tainted with leprosy, and for ten years past she has devoted herself to attendance on her comrades in suffering. Under her splendid management the refuge has grown and prospered. Sixty-four of its eighty-one inmates have become Christians. A native pastor and three lady missionaries from Pithora stood by her in dark days.

[1] The history of Mary Reed is so charming that we must at least say a few words about it here. Born in the village of Lowell in Ohio, Miss Reed was early converted to God, and soon felt a desire to enter the missionary service. In the year 1884 she went out to Cawnpore as a teacher under the Episcopal Methodists and worked there for four years. As her health was far from satisfactory, she was transferred to the Girls' Institution at Gonda, where the climate is less oppressive; but in 1890 she was compelled to return to North America with shattered health. She entered a Deaconesses' Hospital belonging to her Church at Cincinnati and underwent several operations, without, however, receiving any benefit. Nobody could tell what was the matter with her. Then there came a day in April 1891, as she lay alone on her sick bed, when the thought struck her: "What if her malady should be the early stages of leprosy?" She did not dare to give the thought expression, but asked for medical books in order to gain information. The more she read the more convinced she became. She sent for the Secretary of the Women's Missionary Society to which she belonged and imparted to her her fears. Through her agency she was examined by several of the most distinguished medical men of New York and London, and the result was that her conjectures were confirmed on all hands—she was a leper. She did not dare to inform her parents of the dreadful fact, and only a favourite sister shared her secret; but her mind was at once made up. During a holiday excursion to Pithora she had visited the Leper Hospital at Chandag, and she resolved to go there. She would pass the rest of her life among her companions in tribulation: possibly she might be able to be of some use to them. Without bidding farewell to anybody, she hastened back to India as fast as possible; only when she arrived in Bombay did she write full particulars to her parents. From that time she lived in quiet retirement at the Chandag Refuge. Much prayer has been offered for her and God has helped her in a marvellous fashion. All outward signs of leprosy have disappeared; she is as active and cheerful as a healthy person. She has learnt to bow in humility under the chastening hand of God and to bear her heavy cross with submission. Quite recently a number of doctors have agreed that, as far as human knowledge goes, Mary Reed is healed of her leprosy . . . a most exceptional case. Nevertheless, she has remained in that neighbourhood, the mountainous regions of Kumaon, and is now working among the people on the Tibetan frontier.

Still larger and showing a more elaborate development is the settlement founded in 1888 at Purulia, a station belonging to Gossner's Mission; it is the model settlement of the Mission to Lepers. Rev. Mr. Uffmann, the missionary there, was led to take up this particular branch of missionary work by a strange disposition of providence: his eldest daughter, whom he had sent home to Germany to be educated, caught leprosy in Berlin, and after great sufferings died there in the Elizabeth Hospital. Since then he has entirely dedicated himself to work among the lepers, and his Society has left him a free hand in the matter. Under his splendid direction the refuge at Purulia developed in less than 10 years into a large village of 524 inhabitants. There are 9 men's houses with 28 rooms, and 8 women's houses with 25 rooms; every room is 14 feet square and intended for 4 persons. Besides this, there are houses for the native doctor, whom the Mission to Lepers has installed to give special attention to the sick, for the "chaukidar," one for boys, another for girls, a shop, a school, a chapel, a drug store, with special accommodation for those who are very ill. Here, too, they had the joy of finding the first convert in the establishment, Shidam Banwar (christened Christaram, or "Rest in Christ"), a zealous and faithful man; he died triumphant in the faith in 1890. His example also paved the way in this settlement for many who afterwards came to Christ; 478 of the 639 who were received in the settlement during the years 1888–1895 accepted Christianity, and the present inmates are almost all Christians. It is the largest leper settlement in India. At the present time it has 716 inmates; and the Government of Bengal has erected a state settlement in affiliation therewith which is likewise under the direction of the Gossner Missionary Society. Also with regard to arrangements for children who have become tainted with the disease and those who are still free from it, the Purulia settlement is a model of its kind.

The refuges under the Mission to Lepers are as far as possible managed on uniform principles. The lepers find their own food and receive 5s. a month. The houses are one storey high; they are generally constructed for only two or four persons, so that every appearance of barrack life may be avoided. For every refuge some reliable Christian is chosen as "chaukidar," a leprous catechist as teacher, and if possible a few tried Christians to serve as leaders amongst the rest and to create a dominating Christian atmosphere in the settlement. Every superintending officer and teacher, whether European or native, is required to suppress all appearance of aversion or disgust in his intercourse with the lepers, and to enter their huts and mingle freely with

them. As far as possible, efforts are made to keep the sexes separate; this, however, is by no means so stringently enforced nowadays as formerly, since it has been proved that marriages between lepers are sterile, and that leprosy in itself is not hereditary. The separation of tainted and healthy children is of greater importance than that of the sexes. It is a binding principle of the Mission to Lepers that in connection with all the larger settlements, homes for these untainted children shall be provided.

To-day Mr. Bailey is able to testify with thankfulness to God that not one of the numerous European and native helpers who have been appointed to serve in these settlements has ever contracted the appalling disease.

According to statistics drawn up by the author in the year 1899, evangelical missions in India were at that time working in forty-two settlements—inclusive of two at Colombo and Mandalay—of which sixteen belonged to the Edinburgh Mission to Lepers and eight to other missionary societies that were, however, supported by the Mission to Lepers. In the years that have elapsed since then the number has increased considerably. The newest list of stations belonging to the Mission to Lepers reckons forty-two settlements as belonging to the Edinburgh Society and eighteen as being supported by it; in these, besides 500 children who are free from disease, 5225 lepers are being cared for, and of this number 2779 are Christians. This great work of Christian love, the self-sacrifice and devotion of which even the heathen appreciate and admire, is one of the stars in the crown of a great and noble band of men and women who are united together in imitation of Him who came to seek and to save that which was lost.

CHAPTER VI

THE LEAVEN AT WORK

THE deeply religious nature of the Hindus is emphatically demonstrated by the fact that religious movements have sprung up in India during every century. Many of them have been evoked by the yawning gulf which separates popular idolatry from the sublime philosophy of the theological schools: on the one hand, there is the crass, gross, and, among the lowest classes, absolutely fetich-like worship of idols, lingams, sacred trees, stones, rivers, ponds, and so forth; on the other, the subtle hypercriticism and the hair-splitting dialectic niceties of the Vedanta and Sankhya systems of philosophy or of the systems of logic. In view of these extremes, thoughtful spirits have from time to time been moved to attempt the reformation of the profane tendency of popular idolatry, and have founded divers sects. Other religious movements have been the outcome of contact with other systems of religion. Long centuries after Buddhism, originally a product of Indian soil, had been expelled, its influence remained potent in India, simply because its great fundamental ideas blossomed forth into new sectarian formations, most of them having a decided anti-caste bias. Islam, which has pressed forward from the North-West in an ever-conquering march from the eleventh century down to the present day, has by no means won all its victories at the sword's point. Among a race so naturally receptive to religious influence as the Hindus, it was not long before more or less important attempts were in progress to blend Hindu conceptions of truth with those of the new religion, and especially with the latter's pronounced monotheism. The Kabirpanthi sect in the eastern provinces of India and the Sikhism of Guru Nanak in the Punjab are historically the two most remarkable composites of this kind.

It was inevitable, therefore, that contact with the Christian civilisation of the West, which has been growing in intensity decade by decade, notably as the consequence of the increasingly popular preaching and educational work of the agents of

Christianity, should result in movements of a like nature amongst the Hindu population. No Hindu can attend a mission school without having his faith deeply shaken, even if he do not lose it altogether. Their orthodox ideas about astronomy are simply ridiculous; their history pullulates with kings thirty feet high, who reign for 30,000 years; their geography tells of Milk Seas, Butter Seas, Ghi Seas, and so on. All that is at once swept away for a youth who has acquired the veriest rudiments of European education. But a Hindu is as a rule far too religious by nature to rest satisfied for long with this negative attitude. Contact with the new civilisation and the new religion sets in motion amongst the people a process of intellectual fermentation. This is not exclusively owing to the influence of missions, but they undoubtedly have a considerable share in calling forth and stimulating such a process, and missionaries feel the liveliest interest in its development and final outcome.

Now there have been minor movements to be attributed more or less directly to Christian influences observable in almost every part of India during the nineteenth century, and we meet them again and again in the course of a tour through certain mission districts: such are the sects of the Satnamis in Central India, the Daud Birsa movement in Chota Nagpur, the followers of Chet Ram in the Punjab, and many others. But whilst these local sect formations are for the most part a confused and arbitrary blending of Christianity and Hinduism, with perhaps the addition of various Muhammadan ideas, our attention is at once directed to a movement with which many of the most distinguished and highly educated personalities of Bengal are associated, the Brahmo Samaj.

1. The Brahmo Samaj

Its founder was the noble, learned, and deeply religious Ram Mohan Roy.[1] Born of a Brahman family in the Murshidabad district in 1774, and splendidly educated at the Muhammadan College at Patna and in the very citadel of Hinduism at Benares, his heart, which had been early in life repelled from the idolatry of the people, was ever engaged in a passionate quest for truth and for deeper religious knowledge. He went to Tibet to study Buddhism at its fountain-head and to study its oldest literary documents. He learnt Greek and Hebrew that he might read the Bible in the original tongues, and the sublime conceptions of that holy Book exercised a

[1] G. Smith, *Alexander Duff*, popular edition, p. 59 *et seq.*

deep and permanent influence upon him. After many years' faithful service of the English as a civil servant, during which time his incorruptible character won him the respect of a wide circle of acquaintance, he retired in 1814 to Calcutta in order to devote the rest of his life to religious research and pious meditation. Once every week he gathered the Brahmans and all of an inquiring mind about him in one of the busiest streets of the city and discussed with them the worthlessness of religion as practised by the great masses of the people, the decadence of Hindu society, and the necessity for reform throughout Hinduism. Of course he met with opposition and made many bitter enemies. Gradually, however, he gathered a circle of real friends and eager pupils anxious and ready to learn. These he formed into a reform association which went by various names: in 1814 the "Atmaya Sabha," in 1816 the "Brahmaya Sabha," in 1820 the "Unitarian Church," in 1828 the "Vedantist Society," and since 1830 the "Brahmo Samaj" or "Theistic Society." He had no thought of becoming a Christian, nor did he cease to wear his Brahmanical knot up to his death. He believed, on the contrary, that he had rediscovered Christian monotheism in the Vedas (the Upanishads), and intended, much as Luther had done with regard to the Romish Church, to cleanse Hinduism from the multiple accretions of latter-day religious degeneracy and to lead it back to the pristine beauty of the Vedic religion. As a social reformer he took an important part in the agitation against the suttee, and showed how that this cruel custom was not founded on the Vedas. He is also to be remembered as one of the first of Dr. Duff's supporters when that fiery young Scot founded his college in 1830. Soon after that Roy went with a political mission to England, where he excited widespread interest both by his perfect education and his friendly attitude towards Christianity. But he could not stand the English climate, and died in Bristol on September 27th, 1833, confessing even on his death-bed his belief in the divinity of the mission of Jesus and in His miracles. He has been called the "Erasmus of India"; certainly he rendered true Erasmus-like service by the anonymous publication in 1820 of his work *The Precepts of Jesus, the Way to Peace and Happiness.* He ordained in the statutes of the Brahmo Samaj that no idol should ever be placed in its assembly-room nor sacrifice be offered up in connection therewith. But, however susceptible he may have been to Christian influences, he remained to the very end a great way off from the decisive step of embracing the Christian faith. The number of his actual disciples was always small. At his death there were said to be twelve of them. His most remarkable capture was Adams,

a Baptist missionary—the "second fallen Adam," as he was jestingly called in Calcutta.

After Roy's death the movement threatened to come to a standstill. It was then that Srimat Maharishi Debendranath Tagara (generally written "Tagore") identified himself with it and became its leader. Born at Calcutta in 1817, he had lost all faith in the Hindu gods whilst still a student at the Hindu College, but had never come under the influence of Christian missionaries. Hungering and thirsting for religious enlightenment, he had founded in 1838 a "Tatwabodhini Sabha," or "Truth-teaching Society." This society he amalgamated with the Brahmo Samaj in 1841. Like Roy, he thought he had found pure divine monotheism in the Vedas. This error had been both possible and excusable so long as the Vedas were little known and not studied scientifically. But now Dr. Duff challenged the Brahmo Samaj to a great literary contest, started in the pages of his own journal, *The Calcutta Review*, to thoroughly investigate and abandon this untenable thesis. Dr. Tagore himself entered upon long and minute research in connection with the affair, and was honourable enough to admit his error, and therewith to relinquish the divine authority of the Vedas (1850). He then sought to lay as the foundations of his Society intuitive perception, or, to express it differently, perception of the religious understanding; and he studied with equal diligence the European philosophers, Kant, Fichte, Cousin, Spencer, and Mill, and the religious writings of the Hindus and the Sufis. The only book he neglected was the Bible. With all this, however, he was conservative to the backbone, clung with sincere affection to India's great past, and strove to remain a true Hindu to the end.

Since 1858, however, this conservative current has been stemmed by a strongly progressive tendency, mainly under the influence of Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, who joined the Brahmo Samaj in 1858. Born in 1838 of wealthy and orthodox parents of the Vaidya caste, he was educated as a boy in all the traditions of Vaishnavite piety. Whilst a student of Presidency College, however, he lost all confidence in Hinduism, and submitted himself to Christian influences, being a regular attender for years at a Bible class conducted by one of the Government chaplains. Although he never thoroughly studied the ancient sacred literature of his own country, the Bible early in life became to him the first of books, and concerning it he penned the following enthusiastic words: "It is to me a home of blessing to which I may ever retire, it is the Word of Life in which I find the echo of all that I consider to be the most precious treasure of my life."

Even as a schoolboy he had visions of John the Baptist, of Christ, and of Paul; and after long struggle, and much prayer, a flood of inward illumination was vouchsafed to him, bringing him peace. In the Samaj he soon won a position of influence, being consecrated acharya, or priest, in 1862, and later appointed secretary of the Society. He pressed tempestously forward and endeavoured to translate his new convictions into practice; he broke caste, and demanded social reforms, the remarriage of widows, the abolition of child marriage, the complete renunciation of all idolatrous and superstitious customs, etc. In 1865 this led to strife and a breach between him and the more timid and more prudent Tagore. The Samaj was rent asunder, and those who were of a more conservative way of thinking rallied round Debendranath Tagore and called themselves the Adi Samaj (the "original" Samaj). This association has since been of little importance. Tagore lived to a ripe old age at Calcutta, and died on January 19th, 1905, highly respected as the "Maharishi," the "great sage," of India. Scarcely any outside his own family and caste were members of his Samaj.

The progressive party founded under Sen's inspired and inspiring leadership "the Progressive Brahmo Samaj"; and for two decades the new Society was in the forefront of public interest. Its somewhat chequered history is chiefly notable for the public lectures given by Chunder Sen from time to time in the largest halls of Calcutta before audiences of the greatest brilliance and distinction. As he was a master of convincing, dazzling, and profusely illustrated speech, his great lectures soon became events which excited the keenest interest in every part of India, and even far beyond its confines. The first famous lecture was that delivered on May 5th, 1866, entitled "Jesus Christ, Europe, and Asia." It marks his nearest approach to Christianity.[1] In it he said: "Mankind groaned beneath the mortal disease of sin, and was on the verge of the precipice of death. Some remedy was absolutely indispensable if it were to be cured. Jesus was a necessity of His age. . . . Jesus, Who by His wisdom illumined a dark world, Who rescued it by His power, Whose blood has wrought such miracles for eighteen hundred years, was He not lifted high above the rest of mankind! Blessed Jesus! Deathless Child of God! He lived and died for the world! May the world learn to honour Him."

This discourse everywhere received the greatest attention both from Hindus and Christians. The missionaries were full of hope; they thought that the baptism of Sen and his followers could now be only a question of time. But Sen's speech had been delivered extempore, and in the heat of the

[1] The entire lecture is given in the *Basle Miss. Mag.* for 1867, p. 3 *et seq.*

moment he had gone somewhat farther than he intended. On September 28th of the same year he gave a second lecture on "Great Men," in which he placed Christ on a level with Moses, Muhammad, Buddha, Confucius, and others; he praised these benefactors of the race in exuberant language, but simply gave Christ the first place among them. Such was the state of affairs when in 1870 Sen visited England. He received a most extraordinary welcome, and his journey through the country was like a long triumphal procession; many pulpits were thrown open to him, and these by no means Unitarian pulpits only. He conducted himself in this remarkable situation with the true dexterity of an Oriental, but any attempt to make him a member of any particular Christian sect he cleverly foiled. In a speech delivered at Birmingham he was able to declare quite dispassionately: "Since my arrival in England I find myself ceaselessly surrounded by different religious denominations, all the members of which maintain they are Christians. I seem to be in a great fair. Each sect is like a little stall at which one particular kind of Christianity is offered for sale. As I pass from booth to booth, and from stall to stall, each sect attempts to waylay me, and offers me its interpretation of the Bible and its particular articles of Christian faith." Whilst two of his companions were baptized in England, Chunder Sen returned to India unbaptized and unattached. Since then he never again felt tempted to become a Christian. Once more in his native land, his first efforts were devoted to social reform. He succeeded in passing a special marriage law for the adherents of the Brahmo Samaj (the Brahmo Marriage Act, III. 1872), by which no maiden belonging to the Society might marry under the age of fourteen, and no youth under the age of sixteen. In his teaching he adopted more and more the whole circle of Christian terminology, using even such expressions as atonement, the Trinity, the Holy Ghost, and the like; he desired, however, to see all the sacred writings of all peoples recognised as equal sources of religious knowledge, from which intuition alone could sift out the truth by means of meditation and prayer.

On April 9th, 1879, he delivered his most brilliant address: "India asks, who is Christ?" In the course of it, he said: "Is not a new and conquering civilisation gaining ground in the hearts of our people, day by day, and year by year? Are not Christian ideas and institutions striking deeper roots in the soil of India continually? Yes, the onward surging waves of a mighty revolution are flooding the country, and foreign innovations and reforms are winning their way to India's inmost heart in the name of Christ. Hence it is that our fatherland is asking

earnestly and frankly, 'Who is this Christ?' Who rules India? You are mistaken when you think Lord Lytton does with his cabinet, or Sir Frederick Haine with his military genius. It is neither diplomacy nor the bayonet which sways our hearts. Armies never won the heart of a nation. And you cannot deny that our hearts are touched, are won, are overwhelmed by a higher power. And that power is Christ. Christ rules British India, not the British Government. . . . None but Jesus, none but Jesus, none, I say, but Jesus, ever deserved this bright, this precious diadem, India, and Jesus shall have it. . . . My Christ, my sweet Christ, the most lustrous Jewel of my heart, the bridal Adornment of my soul! For twenty long years have I loved Him in my miserable heart. I have found, though ofttimes persecuted, though ofttimes soiled by the world, I have ever found sweetness and joy unspeakable in my Master Jesus. He, the Bridegroom, cometh among you. May India adorn herself as a bride in her glittering apparel, that she may be ready to meet Him." In this connection he paid such a beautiful testimony to the work of the missionaries, that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of repeating it: "If praise is due to any army for subjugating India, it is the army of the missionaries, with their General, Christ, at their head. Their self-devotion and self-denial, their love for men, their love to God, their faithfulness to the truth, all have found, and will continue to find, a deep place in the gratitude of our fellow-countrymen. It would be a work of supererogation did I attempt to bestow words of praise on such tried friends and benefactors of our land. They have brought us Christ. They have given us the high code of Christian ethics, and their teaching and example have influenced and won thousands of Hindus in secret, who have not yet openly avowed themselves Christians. God's blessing and India's thanks will therefore ever accompany men like these, men of character and veracity, men who on many occasions have been found ready to give up their life for their testimony to the truth."

We are astounded and confounded to hear such lofty and beautiful words from the lips of a Hindu. Still they only represent one side of the shield; in the same lecture Chunder Sen continued: "But we must admit that England has brought us a Western Christ, an Englishman with English manners and customs, with the temperament and mind of an Englishman. Before such a one the Hindus draw back in alarm, and say: 'Who is this revolutionary reformer, who seeks to undermine the very foundations of our native social order, who brings us a foreign faith and a civilisation wholly incompatible with Oriental sentiments and ideas? Why should we submit our-

selves to one of a different nationality? Why should we bow before the prophet of another race?' It is an undeniable fact that hundreds and thousands even of the educated classes of this country view with moral repugnance the form of foreign Christianity which is forcing its way into Hindu society and threatening to overturn it. And it is this discrepancy, doubtless, which hinders the progress of the true spirit of Christianity in our midst. . . . But why must the Hindus go to England to learn to know Jesus Christ? Is not the land of Christ's birth nearer to India than to England? Were not Jesus and His apostles more nearly related to the Indian races and ways of living than to the English?" And here we come to the root of the whole matter: it is an Oriental Christ whom Chunder Sen would reveal, a Christ who, like some Indian yogi, has emptied Himself, in contemplation and meditation, that He may be filled with the Godhead. "The life of Christ is the ideal life for a Hindu. The idea of redemption and entire absorption in the Godhead is one of the ideas of the Vedantic philosophy universally recognised throughout India. And through this one idea Christ will conquer India."

Whilst India and the world were still wondering what concrete conception Chunder Sen had of this Oriental Christ, the eloquent orator unfortunately proved himself to be but a very weak Hindu. He betrothed (*i.e.*, according to Indian custom, married), in direct contradiction to the law he had carried through in 1872, his thirteen-year-old daughter with the seventeen-year-old Prince (later Maharajah) of Cooch Behar. This gross inconsistency on the part of their leader brought matters to a crisis in the Brahmo Samaj; 425 of its 514 members renounced Chunder Sen's authority, and founded on a democratic basis and on the Presbyterian model the Sadharan Samaj (the "constitutional" or "general" Samaj). Under the direction of Dr. A. M. Bose, a famous and learned solicitor, of his brother, and of the eloquent pundit, Dr. Sivanath Shastri, this Society has continued to exist up to the present time. Its confession of faith, in nine articles, lays strong emphasis on a monotheistic God, teaches the immortality of the soul, and states that true redemption consists in forsaking sin with unfeigned repentance, and that union with God in wisdom, goodness, and holiness, is true salvation.

But however small at first the remnant still adhering to Chunder Sen, public interest and the potentiality for further development were on his side; and unfortunately this development took place during the next five years with painfully surprising rapidity. Chunder Sen gave himself out as the founder of a new world-embracing religion. In a speech made

on January 23rd, 1881, which for high-flown eloquence and clashing of phrases put all his previous accomplishments into the shade, he imparted this wonderful discovery to the world. "Asia, thou mother of so many institutions for the healing of the nations, thou hast again brought a child to the birth, whose natal day shall be to many an anniversary of great joy. Sweet Angel of the East, Evangelist of Heaven, sent from above with a new gospel, thou camest to us clad in the most splendid and glittering array and adorned with the most precious jewels, such as the East only can boast. Thou camest accompanied by the sounding of bells and the echoing of conches. Sacred Light, we greet thee, we kiss thee, we yearn in humility to impart this day to these our brethren here assembled, the good tidings which thou hast brought us from heaven," etc. And what is this new gospel? A melting down of all previous religions to a unity nobler than them all, by one new prophet Keshub Chunder Sen, who claimed for himself divine inspiration, and who on that account allowed himself to be worshipped as god. The "New Dispensation" was the name Sen gave to his new religion. He at once got to work to arrange the details of religious worship for his followers, by introducing the sacred rites of all other religions; from Christianity he borrowed baptism, confirmation, the Holy Communion, and much besides. The way he mimicked our most sacred rites is almost blasphemous. It will be enough if we reproduce the description given by an eye-witness of his first celebration of Holy Communion on March 6th, 1881. "The Hindu apostles of Christ, as they call themselves, assembled after prayer in the refectory, and seated themselves upon the bare floor, their legs folded beneath them. Rice was then brought in on a silver trencher, and water in a small jug. The officiating priest read the dedicatory words from Luke xxii., and then prayed: 'O Holy Spirit, touch this rice and this water and change their coarse substance into sanctifying spiritual forces, in order that, as we eat, we may assimilate them in our bodies just as the flesh and blood of all saints is assimilated in Jesus Christ. Satisfy the hunger and thirst of our souls with the rice and the water placed before us by Thee. Make us strong through the power of Christ, and nourish us with holy living.' After the rice and the water had been consecrated, they were handed round to those present in small portions. They ate and drank solemnly and praised God, the God of the prophets and the saints." Sen soon slipped farther and farther down the steep descent. He introduced the old Indian "Soma" sacrifice, and the "Arati" rite; he arranged sacred dances—three concentric circles of boys, youths, and men, clad in yellow, white, and

brown, respectively moved round in opposite directions, keeping time with the music while Sen sang: "Jesus dances, Moses dances, Buddha dances, all sing in honour of the Only One," and so on. All kinds of pearls and precious stones were exhibited to represent the truths scattered abroad in the most widely differing religions. By a trick these were all united to form one exquisite ornament. There were other conjuring tricks of the same sort. Sen himself on one occasion called his religion a "sacred jugglery." And his ever active imagination was continually discovering new dogmas, the latest of these being that of the "Motherhood of God." He was just preparing for a great voyage round the world, in order to gain universal recognition for the new religion, when he died, after a short illness, on January 8th, 1884, being only forty-five years old. We can only read the life story of this brilliantly gifted and deeply religious character with sadness. Scarcely any other Hindu has spoken such glorious words concerning Jesus Christ, or been more deeply impressed by His life and words—and yet in what hopeless confusion did his life end? Shipwrecked through presumption and vanity, he was as a moth whose wings were destroyed at the flame of the divinity of Christ, simply because in his folly and self-will he neither could nor would abstain from fluttering around it in his own fashion; he is also an example of the mighty fermentation the Spirit of Christ is producing in the minds of the Hindus.

Even over the open grave of the master fresh disputes broke out between his disciples, as also in the apostolic councils Sen had constituted. Whether "the master who had passed into heaven" should be accorded divine honours, whether his pulpit should ever again be occupied, and so on, were the questions which now unsettled all the small souls connected with the movement. A true friend and relation of Sen's, the noble Babu Pratap Chunder Mozumdar (*b.* 1840), assumed the direction of the Samaj, as far as it was possible to assume direction of aspirations so arbitrary and so widely differing in their objects. Mozumdar was also a man who had experienced much of the glory of Jesus, from his early years. "Jesus dwelt consciously in my heart like some deeply cherished love of earth; He was its rest, its innermost consolation, its unmerited treasure, in whose riches I was fully invited to share. From that day onwards Jesus was a reality to me, One upon Whom I could lean for support." Mozumdar wanted to be a real Christ's man, but not as one belonging to any of the innumerable Christian denominations. He was, however, of too gentle and retiring a spirit to hold the Society together with a firm hand. Since no Scriptures were recognised as its basis, and no con-

fession of faith as its norm, every member chose out just those parts of all other religions which were most pleasing to himself. "Young people, and even little boys and girls," says a well-informed article in one of the numbers of *Nobo Bharat* (a newspaper) for 1887, "may now be found in the very front ranks of the critics. It is therefore a difficult matter to know whose opinion is authoritative in the Samaj, and whose is not. . . . Each man is an authority unto himself." Mozumdar bore the burden of leadership until the year 1902; after having held himself quite aloof from the meetings of the Samaj for several years previously, he took farewell both of the Society and the world in an elegiac composition in the spring of 1902, and retired to Kurseong, near Darjeeling, in the Himalayas, to end his days in peace and quiet meditation. He died at Calcutta on May 27th, 1905.

It is difficult to arrive at any conclusive judgment as to the importance of the Brahmo Samaj movement. No one has seen more clearly nor admitted more honourably than the reflective Mozumdar the superficial character of its entire operations. "We go one way, our old relatives another, and our women yet another; and notwithstanding all these conflicting forces, the Indian home remains in pretty much the same condition as it occupied before the Government opened its schools and colleges. Our educated young men discuss their projects of reform in debating clubs; but as soon as they get home, they carefully put their progressive views in their pockets, and bend their necks beneath the yoke of custom as their ancestors before them. They belong to the nineteenth century, but their homes to the first century, and the distance between the two they must discount every day as they walk from the college to the home." If moral backbone was not precisely the forte of Chunder Sen, the majority of the Society lacked it even more, and at times bitter outcries are raised against the lack of character and the want of discipline in these Samajes. And yet we ought not to ignore the fact that they have exercised salutary influences in many different directions. The majority of their members have renounced completely the popular idolatry and all its depraving customs. Sen made great efforts to ameliorate the condition of the weaker sex; as early as 1865 he admitted women to his religious gatherings, and founded for them an association of their own, the Brahmika Samaj. The author was told in Calcutta that the education given to female members of Samaj families was of an exceptionally high order. They compose the majority of the students at the famous Bethune College; it is by no means a rare occurrence for Samaj girls to attain the age of eighteen or twenty before they marry.

The Samajes carry on an extensive propaganda throughout the whole of India, support travelling preachers and agents, printing-houses, newspapers, magazines, and book warehouses. By these means their reforming ideas are sent forth into every quarter, and perform at least some measure of pioneer work for the missionaries.

But this must not be our final word on these Societies. Ever since the entrance into the arena of Duff's all-quickening personality in 1830, down to somewhere about the year 1870, there were at least a few converts to Christianity every year from the most distinguished and talented families in Bengal, the Banerjeas, the Chatterjeas, the Dutts, etc., and a great religious movement had thus arisen amongst the intellectual aristocracy of the country. But after Chunder Sen's dazzling appearance on the scene this movement came to a complete standstill, and conversions from the first circles of society in Calcutta have been of the most infrequent occurrence. The Samajes have built up, as it were, a wall of demarcation between missions and the Hindu aristocracy. The reason for this is not far to seek. With the grosser forms of ancient Hinduism these educated classes will have nothing more to do; but the majority of them lack the strength of character necessary to take the decisive step into the Christian Church. Now here they find, so to speak, a half-way house which just meets their need, a religion they can model according to their taste, in which there is so much said about Christianity and the Bible, and which uses so many of the formulæ and expressions of Christian doctrine which they have learnt at school, that in the end they imagine themselves within a Society that is wholly Christian; and, above everything, no breaking of caste is demanded of them, no sacrifice of home or fortune, no giving up of their accustomed ways of living. It is the perfect religious system for a society of *beaux esprits*, none of whom possesses much determination of character. And this is also probably the reason why, according to the Census reports, the membership of the Brahmo Samaj has always been extremely small, it being returned in 1881 as 515 adults and 601 children, in 1891 as having 3051 members in all, and in 1901, about 4000. This is likewise the cause, doubtless, that the entire Brahmo Samaj movement has been largely confined to Bengal; the leavening of the atmosphere of Calcutta with the elements of Anglo-Christian culture, the subtle intellects of the Bengalis, their love for disputation and argument, together with their manifest weakness of character, all tend to foster a religion that makes its main appeal to the intellect and not to the will.

There are, moreover, no less than fifteen different periodicals, six in English, six in Bengali, one in Hindi, one in Oriya, and one Anglo-Marathi, engaged in the dissemination of these ideas, and their chief organ, the daily *Indian Mirror*, is one of the most influential newspapers of Calcutta. In the whole of India there are 149 of their local societies, which, however, only possess some 44 places of worship—an *état major* without an army !

2. Will o' the Wisps

At the South India Missionary Conference held at Madras in 1900, Dr. Murdoch, a man who has grown grey in the cause of missions, said on one occasion: "India is the favourite hunting-ground of religious mountebanks, fanatics, and every possible kind of false teacher and quack." There is no doctrine too nonsensical and no pretension too absurd to find credence in India, provided it be advanced in an assumed tone of religious conviction. How heart-rending, however, is the evil wrought by unprincipled adventurers from the Christian West when they exploit this foible of the Indian peoples and make complete fools of them. About the middle of the nineteenth century all kinds of occult sciences of very doubtful worth, such as spiritualism, mesmerism, etc., were extensively cultivated in both Europe and America. A blasé society, which had lost faith in the simple revelation of the truth of Christianity, felt a new and delightful tickling of the senses in conversing with the spirits of the departed, in acquiring from them a supposed knowledge of the unseen world, and in accomplishing all sorts of miracles by their aid. Furthermore, these credulous enemies of Christianity carried on no slight flirtations with the religions of the East, particularly with Buddhism, which just about that time began to be fashionable in America. Belonging to these occult circles in America was an adventurer, Colonel Olcott[1] by name, who had been in turn an officer in the army, the director of an insurance society, a newspaper editor, and who was withal a man, to say the least, of questionable past—for it is on record that he was imprisoned in America for circulating immoral literature. With him there became associated an extremely cunning adventuress, Madame Blavatsky, the widow of a Russian General, behind whom there also lay an eventful and somewhat dubious past. Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky journeyed to India in 1879 to carry on a propaganda of occultism. After a temporary halt at Bombay,

[1] *Basle Miss. Mag.*, 1885, pp. 272, 357, etc. Handmann, *Kampf der Geister*, p. 41.

they went on to Ceylon, and there Olcott formally professed Buddhism. During the next few years both of them displayed great literary activity on behalf of Buddhism. Olcott wrote a Buddhist catechism, which was translated into many different languages, and of which, so it was asserted, more than 30,000 copies were sold; its standpoint was purely and simply atheistic. For example, the answer to question 112 says in so many words: "For a Buddhist a personal God is nothing more or less than a gigantic shadow, which the imaginations of ignorant men have thrown across the face of the world." At the same time Madame Blavatsky published a work of fifteen hundred pages in two volumes, *Isis Unveiled*; it has since been proved, however, that a large portion of it consisted of abstracts from a French book, *Dogme et Rituel de la haute Magie*, written by an ex-priest, Louis Constant (under the *nom de guerre* of "Eliphas Levy"), and from Donelly's *Atlantis*—that it was, in fact, a scandalous plagiarism. In 1882 the two adventurers transferred their headquarters to Madras, where they soon developed such extensive activities as to attract the attention of all India. They founded a "Theosophical Society," and published a periodical of their own, *The Theosophist*, a journal devoted to Oriental philosophy, art, literature, and esoteric arts, such as mesmerism, spiritualism, and other esoteric sciences. They soon had a tremendous following; even Englishmen of the highest social standing subscribed to their society, and Hindus with a British education were soon in a state bordering on intoxication with regard to the new doctrines. What, then, were the objects Olcott and Blavatsky strove to attain? According to their official programme the aims of the "Theosophical Society" were threefold: (1) A nucleus was to be formed for a universal brotherhood of man, without distinction of race, creed, or colour; (2) the study of Aryan and other religions should be encouraged, and their importance pointed out; (3) the hidden mysteries of nature and the physical powers latent in mankind should be inquired into. As a matter of fact, their endeavours took quite a different form; the first thing they did was to pay most assiduous court, in a highly mendacious fashion, to the Hindus themselves. True wisdom, they said, did not proceed from the West, it was to be sought in Indian men. In the Orient in the ancient prehistoric sacred writings lay the source of light and wisdom. "You have misunderstood and concealed it. We want to set it again on the beacon tower, and are come to learn from you, and also to prove to you that the old Indian wisdom is in perfect harmony with the results of modern science." Was not this kind of flattery, flung broadcast in every direction, precisely the kind of thing to bewilder and

befog weak-willed Hindus? The only pity was that it came from people who were so well known to be Buddhists, as that the priest of the great temple at Tinnevelly, for instance, when Olcott had finished his brilliant speeches upon Hinduism, felt it necessary to have the temple thoroughly purified after his departure! This exaltation of Hinduism was accompanied by an increasingly venomous hatred of Christianity, and more particularly of missionaries. They wanted "to tear Christianity to shreds." "What Christianity really is is shown by Krupp cannons, by whisky distilleries, by opium ships, and by many other things of that ilk. Its course through the world is one long chain of selfishness, brutality, unrighteousness, and deception. The dogmas of this religion are based upon proofs which are neither historical nor logical: all that is true in them is derived from philosophical writings of antiquity. . . . It destroys all morality, and puts an end to all striving after high ideals. It begets hypocrisy, flatters sensuality, and palliates crime." "An expiring superstition"! And the missionaries are "peaceful hooded snakes," useless, ignorant, idle gluttons who live on the credulity of pious Christians in Europe; their converts can only be termed "perverts," and so forth. How sweet must all this have sounded in the ears of Hindu society, which had the greatest intellectual difficulty in maintaining its position in face of the attacks made by Christianity and by the superior measure of truth contained therein. If an "academically trained" American officer and a high-born Russian general's widow thought and spoke thus, who could blame the Hindus if in future they refused to hear anything further concerning a decadent religion like Christianity, concerning such very questionable persons as missionaries?

The real strength of the movement headed by Olcott and Madame Blavatsky, however, lay in their supposed and pretended relations with the spirit world. Madame Blavatsky maintained that at an earlier period she had lived for seven years in the Himalayas, in the most profound solitude, and that she had there sought and found communion with the spirits of great saints of ancient India, with the Rishis and the Mahatmas. In particular, she had engaged in lively intercourse with an old Tibetan saint, Kut Humi Lal Singh, a Mahatma never previously heard of. Upon this alleged intercourse with the Mahatmas, and particularly with Kut Humi, who soon became a well-known personage, an extensive system of fraud was organised by this honest couple at Madras. Madame Blavatsky received and forwarded all correspondence between her credulous followers and Kut Humi; at Bombay, where her room was merely roofed in with cloth, the answers always fell to her from the roof; at Madras, where she had an apartment the roof of which was

more solid, she found them in a letter-box—between which and her bedchamber there existed a secret passage. Roses falling in showers, music sounding in the air, writing on the wall, or on a paper laid upon the floor far from pen or pencil, duplication of objects, the disappearance of persons from a room, etc.—these were Colonel Olcott's miracles. Kut Humi, the Mahatma, even went so far as to show himself in his astral body; and Olcott weighed in a balance all the spirits who put in an appearance, and found that their actual weight was from fifty-two to eighty-eight pounds avoirdupois! All these striking spiritual phenomena created tremendous excitement in India; young India believed the golden days of the old Rishis had returned, and that ere long, ashamed and speechless, the last missionary would leave the country.

But the enchantment was not to last long. In 1884 Olcott and Madame Blavatsky made a trip to Europe; in their absence quarrels arose in the Theosophical Association at Madras, and a French lady, the bosom friend of Madame Blavatsky, Madame Coulomb, was turned out of the Committee. Deeply hurt, she betook herself in a rage to the Scotch missionaries at the Christian College, the most famous missionary college in South India, and revealed the entire fraud. Her husband, who was an engineer, had constructed in Madame Blavatsky's house a room fitted up with all the tricks and apparatus necessary for her jugglery; quite a number of unquestionably genuine letters from Madame Blavatsky to Madame Coulomb, the originals of which were handed over to the missionaries, proved how the former had planned and carried out one artful deception after another. Madame Coulomb actually gave a public séance at which she repeated all the most remarkable "manifestations of the Mahatma," and explained the tricks connected therewith. The missionaries published a series of articles in the *Christian College Magazine* entitled "The Collapse of Koot Hoomi." Madame Blavatsky and her numerous supporters foamed with rage; but the proofs against them were too convincing, and they did not dare to impeach the missionaries. Gribble, a retired English judge, carefully went through all the originals of Madame Blavatsky's letters, and pronounced his verdict: "The letters are genuine; Madame Blavatsky is guilty." The Psychic Society of London sent out a Commissioner to India, in order to examine the affair scientifically; and it, too, concluded that the whole business was pure fraud. Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott were forced shamefacedly to withdraw; they were checkmated. It is difficult to believe that ten years later Colonel Olcott appeared again in India; he has founded a "Heathen Missionary Society," the "Buddha Gaya Maha

Bodhi Sabha," or "Association of the Great Illumination of Buddha Gaya," by which the whole of India is to be re-converted to Buddhism. Madame Blavatsky was, beyond all measure of doubt, an arrant cheat; Olcott, a very credulous man, was perhaps as much self-deceived as deceiving. What a pity that such will o' the wisps should appear from the Christian West to disturb the work of Christian missions in India.

Madame Blavatsky retired to England, and sought to make a fresh start with her fraudulent practices in various spiritualistic and theosophic circles. Here she succeeded in drawing into her net a splendid victim, no less a one than the brilliant journalist and famous defender of materialism, Annie Besant.[1] This lady, too, had had a chequered career. Born in 1847, she had received a good English religious education, and then plunged into society, and at the age of twenty married a High Church clergyman. At that period she had such high Anglican tendencies that in her first published work, a tract on fasting, she advocated well-nigh Roman Catholic views. Within a few years, however, she took up a wholly different standpoint; she discarded all the traditions of her youth and of her Church, left her husband and her home, and, adopting enthusiastically the materialistic conception of life, she entered upon a period of unqualified atheism. She became a member of the association founded by Charles Bradlaugh, the well-known atheist, and was an ardent contributor to his magazine, *The Social Reformer*; she wrote books such as *My Path to Atheism*, which wrought much havoc in England, and which travelled even as far as India, where they were greedily devoured by blasé young India. As an agitator of twenty years' standing on behalf of materialism and atheism, and eloquent both in speech and with the pen, she was ensnared by the thorough-paced Madame Blavatsky, and within a few weeks the easily enthused lady was once more completely transformed She passed over to the spiritualist and theosophist camp to the sound of music and dancing, believed all the humbug about Madame Blavatsky's intercourse with Kut Humi and the other Mahatmas, and declared a war to the knife on materialism! Madame Blavatsky died in 1891. It was probably from her that Mrs. Besant received the impulse to go to India, and there to revive the lost cause of theosophy. With her attractive personality and her bewildering eloquence she was the very woman to do it.

In 1893 she went out to India, and since then she has become one factor the more in the intellectual life of the country to be reckoned with by the missionaries, whose task was already

[1] *Basle Missionary Mag.*, 1897, pp. 369, 419: "Zwei neuste Apostel des Hinduismus."

difficult enough. What does Mrs. Besant teach? Although heart and soul a theosophist like "the world's greatest woman teacher," Madame Blavatsky, she was not, like that lady and her squire Olcott, pledged to Buddhism; on the contrary she gave herself out to be an inspired representative of Hinduism. As in the case of Blavatsky and Olcott, it is difficult to decide how much is conscious mendacity on her part, how much the exuberance of extravagant eloquence, and how much honest conviction. We must even take the confused mixture as we find it, and as she has served it out to the people of India. She declared at Bangalore that she had been a Hindu paṅdita in a previous existence, and that she had made a prolonged sojourn in the West, where she had had to undergo a reincarnation in order to understand the nature of the materialistic civilisation of Christianity! She said she had now returned to India with an absolute belief in all the Hindu deities, great and small, in caste, in the transmigration of souls, etc. She cried to the Hindus, "Retain your idols." They must not throw away their toys even when they had outgrown them. Adults might perhaps need them no longer, but their children and grandchildren did. The idols are such pertinent types, "magnetic symbols of godhead, full of spiritualising influences." All she sought was to restore Aryan civilisation, the oldest, truest, and best in the world. "India was a mighty empire so long as the laws of Manu (the caste laws) were followed to the very letter, but when the spirit of these laws was forgotten, horde after horde of foreign conquerors swept across India, and subjugated it." "Those who by many births have garnered rich experience in all things human and divine, return as Brahmans. Cherish therefore this God-given plant" (caste!). Hindu theosophy was the best of all philosophies; the Hindus were the wisest of all nations; Sanskrit was the most beautiful of all tongues; Western civilisation, in spite of all its discoveries, could not be compared to Hindu civilisation. And the best things we possessed in the Western world were all borrowed from India. "For the Hindu there is no false religion, since every form of worship truly believed in is for the believer absolutely true, and contains for him precisely that strength and impulse which is needed for his higher development. And we may even go farther than this; the Hindu believes that the religion and confession in which a man is born and brought up is a far more potent means in his uplifting than the acceptance of a new, different religion;"—and in this style of unscrupulous glorification of Hinduism in all its forms and phases her speeches went echoing from the great cities on the plains of Hindustan to the temples of the Tamil country. And the Hindus neither can nor will differentiate what in this

exaggerated flood of eloquence is wittingly untrue, what is flattery addressed to the inordinate pride of the listeners, and what proceeds from real conviction. Remembering her chameleon-like history, and the extraordinarily limited amount of her actual knowledge of India when she suddenly appeared there with decided and settled convictions on all its multitudinous questions and problems in 1893, we cannot but form a low opinion of the sincerity of her eloquence, nor dare we name her in the same breath with honest students, such as Professors Max Müller or Deussen, who after profound research have arrived at a favourable judgment upon Hinduism. But what confusion must be wrought in the minds and hearts of the Hindus, who as a race cling so tenaciously to the things of the past, when, after missionaries and scholars have for a century past described their faith and heathen rules of life as untrue, indefensible, and pernicious, there appears an eloquent Englishwoman who describes this very Hinduism as the supreme wisdom of the world. Since 1900 Mrs. Besant has made Benares her headquarters. In this citadel of orthodox Hinduism, aided by her faithful disciple, Dr. Richardson, she has founded a great central "Hindu College," which has been magnificently endowed by various Indian Rajahs, and is to be "the most valuable of all existing agencies for the redemption of India." In the College grounds a temple has been erected to Saraswati, the Hindu goddess of learning; over the portal of the main building is enthroned a representation of the elephant-headed Ganesa; Krishna worship is the keynote of the religious instruction given in the College, and the Bhagavad Gita is the "Bible" of its students. Whilst Mrs. Besant claims to be a Hindu, one of the other English professors plays the rôle of Buddhist. What intelligent Hindus think of Mrs. Besant's doings is shown by the following extract from the Indian (Christian) newspaper, *Sattiavarthamani*: "We have not the slightest doubt that her influence in India rests in reality upon the extent to which she has sought to put herself on the same level as the Hindus. She flatters the national and superstitious prejudices of the people. The damage she inflicts upon India by her attempts forcibly to restore the old dying superstitions and old-fashioned customs is incalculable." And the Hindu newspaper *Reis and Rayat* (March 16th, 1895) says: "When an educated English lady claims to be an enthusiast for the mysticism of the Tantra and Krishna cults, it is time for every true lover of his country to tell her openly that we neither need nor desire her eloquence to gild over what we know to be rottenness and decay." Real Hindu scholars, the pundits, make sport of this "heroine of words," who has never

penetrated the secrets of old Indian philosophy; but English-trained Young India, which has broken with the past, but which because of weakness of character cannot shake off its shackles, greets her with acclamation. Is she not an incarnate excuse for their occupying a neutral position? Whether Mrs. Besant, protean nature as she is, has yet come to the end of her transformations, who can tell?

We mentioned above that Mrs. Besant went out to India in connection with the Theosophical Society; may we be allowed one more word concerning this Society, for it has even to-day a certain importance in Indian affairs? It is a matter of common knowledge that this Society, founded in New York in 1875, has in the course of the last three decades spread throughout the whole civilised world from Iceland in the North to New Zealand in the South, and has also branch societies in every country in Europe. Its President is still Colonel Olcott. According to the Report for 1904, it had a total of 325 branch societies, and new ones are added every year. It controls at its central office alone, quite apart from the considerable sums spent by the various branch associations, a yearly income of over £75,000. But by far the most important field of the Society is India. Here, at Adyar, a suburb of Madras, is situated its headquarters; here we find 198 of the 325 branch societies. It is its Indian work alone which now concerns us. Rev. F. Lazarus, a missionary, sent out a circular letter in 1905 asking for information whereby a just view of the extent and potentiality of the work of this Society might be obtained. According to answers received by him, no less than 90 of the 198 branches have died out, and concerning none of the rest was he informed that they displayed any considerable activity; many are mere literary or religious clubs. The motive powers are Mrs. Besant, with her captivating and unscrupulous eloquence, and her lieutenants; wherever they come, branch societies spring out of the ground. But there is a lack of ardent apostles to extend the movement on their own initiative. The Society's chances of life, therefore, should not be computed very high. It is a convenient refuge for Hindus who as a result of their Western training have broken with idol-worship and the superstition of their mother land, but who have not the moral strength and faith to take the self-denying step over to Christianity. It is a modern half-way house for seekers after something better than Hinduism. In this respect, as well as chronologically, it is the successor of the Brahmo Samaj; it is an eclectic blend of religion whose fortunes in India at the present time appear to be bound up with the personality of Mrs. Besant.

At the Chicago Congress of Religions in 1893 considerable

attention was aroused by a young Hindu of some thirty years of age, dressed in elegant and picturesque orange or purple robes, having a magnificent silk turban wreathed about a lofty forehead, from beneath which flashed two dark vision-filled eyes. Swami Vivekananda was the name he gave himself; that is, "The Leader to the Joys of (Indian) Religious Philosophy." He gave lectures in Chicago which were favoured by extraordinarily large audiences, and seeing that he was rapidly becoming famous, the Swami remained in America for three years after the close of the Congress, lecturing in all the large towns. He then came to England, where he also gave a large number of lectures. His subject was always Hinduism, which he proclaimed in remarkably fluent and correct English, and with an inexhaustible fund of illustrations, as the highest wisdom. It certainly was not the old genuine Hinduism, neither the philosophically consistent system of the Vedantas, nor yet the polytheistic Hinduism of the masses of the people, but a hybrid form, decked out with many spangles of Western philosophy and of Christian phraseology. "The whole conflict which finds expression in the Hindu system is an ardent wrestling to be perfect, to be godlike, to attain unto God, to see God, and, as far as the Hindus do thus attain to, and see God, to be perfect even as their Father in heaven is perfect. That is the essence of Indian religion,"—a description of the Hindu attempt at identification with God which has a remarkably Christian ring about it. "There is no polytheism," announced the Swami boldly, presuming on the ignorance of his hearers who could not contradict him. Hinduism is the one all-embracing religion. "From the lofty spiritual flights of Vedanta philosophy which are, as it were, the echo of the most recent discoveries in science (!), from the agnosticism of the Buddhists and the atheism of the Jains right down to the very lowest ideas of the idol-worshippers and to the teeming mythologies, everything has its place in Hinduism." One can only ask, if this be so, how it is that the Hindus drove out Buddhism with fire and sword, and persecuted in such bloody fashion the Jains. "We have discovered the secrets by which the depths of the ocean of memory may be explored; follow them up, and you will gain perfect recollection of your former state of existence," and so on. And in how contemptuous a manner he could speak of sin! "O children of deathless joy! what a sweet precious name! Let me, my brethren, call you by this sweet name! Ye are the children of God, partners of joy immortal, holy and perfect beings. And ye, the sons of God upon earth, are told ye are sinners? It is a sin to name ye thus! It is a perpetual libel on human nature."[1]

[1] Rev. E. Thompson, M.A., *The Teaching of Swami Vivekananda* (Madras, 1898).

The handsome young Hindu had great crowds of enthusiastic hearers devoid of critical acumen, particularly in America; everywhere ladies swarmed to listen to him. He even made a few proselytes—an eccentric Frenchwoman, who adopted the name of Swami Abhayananda, and a Russian Jew, Swami Kripananda. An English captain and his wife, Series by name, even wanted to accompany him to India, in order to erect a "Home for Western Sannyasis," near Almora, in the Himalayas; and a Mr. Godwin wished to accompany the Swami everywhere. His most faithful disciple was undoubtedly Miss Margaret Noble, an American, who went out to India after him. She has recently published (1904) a book, *The Web of Indian Life*, by Sister Nividita (her Indian pseudonym) of Ramakrishna Vivekananda (London, W. Heinemann). According to the views therein expressed, everything Indian is glorious and worthy of admiration, even polygamy and the prohibition of the marriage of widows. Suttee is simply an expression of belief in the mystic unity of souls, and "with this belief in her heart, what woman would not have laughed at the flames?"

In India there was as much astonishment at first as there had been in America at the appearance of the young Swami. It was ascertained that his real name was Norendra Nath Dutt, that he had been born in a Kayasth family at Calcutta, and had received his education at the General Assembly's Institution of the Established Church of Scotland—that is, at a well-known missionary foundation. He was known to have been for years under the influence of one of the most adventurous Sannyasis with whom public rumour busied itself in Calcutta, Ram Krishna Paramhansa, whom Professor Max Müller has raised to unmerited repute by the publication of his biography.[1] Hitherto he (Vivekananda) had only been known in the narrower circles of the Brahmo Samaj, which he had joined at an early age. His conduct was out of all agreement with the rules of the sacred books. He who travelled across the ocean only, exposed himself to the severest penalties and to expulsion from caste, and in addition to this the Swami had frequented American hotels, partaken of food prepared by white men, and smoked innumerable cigarettes. Further, it is forbidden in the Shastras to make proselytes of any who are not Hindus. But the conduct of the Swami in appearing before the public in this way at all was an infringement of all custom; according to orthodox teaching, a man could only become a Swami after completing the six steps (tapa) of the Yoga by long years of asceticism.

[1] *Ram Krishna, His Life and Sayings* (London, 1898). Cf. *Papers for Thoughtful Men*, No. XII., "Ram Krishna Paramhansa," by Rev. K. S. Macdonald (Calcutta, 1900).

Such a Swami ought to go about entirely, or at any rate half naked, in order to demonstrate his complete superiority to all conventions of men and his renunciation of the world. Above all, he should be a Brahman ; for even to read the sacred Vedas within the hearing of a Sudra is grievous sin. And here was a Sudra appearing as the apostle of Hinduism ; and there was scarcely one single point in which his teaching agreed with orthodox Hinduism, and the pundits could easily have pointed out to the Swami a hundred blunders and gross mistakes with regard to their sacred didactic writings.

But all these considerations receded into the background before the truly intoxicating discovery that this Swami was making Hinduistic propaganda on an immense scale away yonder in America. Exaggerated newspaper reports, and the boundless vanity of the Swami himself, revelled in the thought that Christianity was declining lower and lower, that Europe and America were hungering after the higher truth in Hinduism, and that tens of thousands would swell the ranks of the faithful within a few years. Instead of Americans and Englishmen coming to them as hitherto to carry on Christian missions, Hindu apostles were now to be sent to them ; and whereas missionaries had met with scarcely any real success in India, Hindu apostles would find open doors on all sides in these long civilised countries, and would Hinduise America in particular within a few decades! These were indeed brilliant prospects, and it is not to be wondered at that when the Swami again landed in South India, in December 1896, he received a magnificent welcome. With true Oriental luxuriance of imagination he was proclaimed to be one of the old holy Rishis, or a Bairagi, or sacred penitent, who had overcome the world. His journey through India was one long triumphal procession ; his name was in every mouth. Wherever the missionaries began to proclaim the gospel in the schools or bazaars, the name of the Swami was at once held up against them in all confidence of victory ; the universal opinion was that since he had appeared, Christian missions were doomed. And the Swami seems to have entertained serious thoughts of starting an anti-Christian Hinduistic missionary movement for India and the West. He retired to a monastery, *i.e.* Matha, in the Himalayas, and gathered his disciples about him, in order that he might prepare them in his own way to be the apostles of Hinduism. But it was not to be: on July 4th, 1902, he died suddenly in Calcutta, at the early age of thirty-nine.

We have given the name of "will o' the wisps" to these remarkable personalities who have hurtled in such meteoric fashion across the broad vault of the Indian sky. In the great

spiritual struggle consequent upon a genuine consideration of the relative merits of Hinduism and Christianity, of East and West, the use of false and dishonourable weapons can but confuse the issues of the struggle, and render it still more embittered. These apostles of a pseudo Hinduism calumniated and defamed Christianity just as shamefully as on the other hand they idealised and glorified Hinduism. It is owing to this inward lack of truthfulness, too, that the brilliant advertisement they received at the outset only too quickly lost its virtue. Further, this age of telegraph wires renders publicity too easy for clumsy swindles like those of Madame Blavatsky, or for such gross self-adoration as that of Swami Vivekananda, to last even for a short number of years. The cause of missions emerged from these attacks without a stain. It is deplorable that a sense of truth is so little developed in the Hindus that they do not turn away with disgust from the wholly deceitful proceedings of these their grandiloquent defenders and champions.

3. Efforts towards a Revival of Hinduism

The shortlived movements just described link themselves on to, and in part help to promote, a more general, more far-reaching intellectual agitation, the so-called "Revival of Hinduism." The enthusiasm for Mrs. Besant and Swami Vivekananda was aroused and chiefly maintained by the hope that in them valuable allies had been discovered for the conflict against Christianity, or for the defence of the old worship of idols—two objects which of course go hand in hand. Nothing is more indicative of the continued success of missions, nothing proves more clearly their indirect advance, or the extent to which Hinduism feels its spiritual supremacy threatened, than these attempts at revival and self-defence. We must therefore take them into consideration, no matter how little we may sympathise with many of their methods.

In the month of April 1887 a "Hindu Tract Society"[1] was founded at Madras with the object of publishing extracts from the ancient sacred writings, issuing tracts of a polemic nature against Christianity, and sending out preachers to work in opposition to the missionaries. Its promoters took up the conservative standpoint of protecting and defending ancient Hinduism in the widest sense, and they summoned to their aid the grosser instincts of the superstitious masses of the people, whom they made no scruple of exciting into a state of sheer

[1] Handmann, *Kampf der Geister*, p. 57 *et seq.*

fanaticism against the missionaries. For several years the energies of the latter in South India were sensibly handicapped; whenever they began to preach in the street or at the melas, the Hindu preachers at once appeared, and either made them a laughing-stock, shouted them down, or incited the people to actual violence. The missionaries were often badly handled, attacked with stones or covered with filth. For such brutish procedure, of course, no intellectual equipment was necessary. But besides this, tracts surpassing in noxious vulgarity anything that had preceded them were published and circulated broadcast among the common people. And here the Hindus benefited by the fact that just about this time unbelieving and atheistic publishers and booksellers both in England and America were making great efforts to create in India a new market for their wares—whose popularity in the home country had very rapidly died down. The polluted stream of modern unbelief, of agnosticism, and atheism now commenced, therefore, to inundate unhappy India. In this disastrous development two phases are clearly traceable: the first, a period when scientifically worthless and shamefully immoral literature was dumped upon the Indian market, and the second when the scientific works of famous Western experts were brought into the forefront of public interest. The time we are now more particularly considering falls within the first of these periods.[1] Bradlaugh's writings, especially his *Freethinkers' Text-book*, Mrs. Besant's *My Path to Atheism*, the atheistic writings of Ingersoll, Paine, Foote, Aveling, and others, flooded the market. Another section was composed of purely immoral books, such as *The Evil of Continence*, which preached free thought and free love, and which reached twenty-three editions in India alone. Magazines like *The Philosophical Inquirer*, *The Thinker*, *The Anti-Christian*, all belonged to the same category. The Christians are described as "thick-skulled, bigoted bloodhounds," the teaching of the missionaries as "the purest idiotic trash" and "the most revolting deception," the Bible is "senseless gossip," "the most disgusting filth," "the obscenest book ever touched by human hands," etc. etc. (We ought to state that these journals were none of them long-lived; neither the *Anti-Christian* nor the *Philosophical Inquirer* survived the fifth year of publication, and the *Thinker* was only kept above water with difficulty, and by European funds.) The theosophists, Olcott and Blavatsky, with all their train, united in the same outcry. It was a bad sign for the moral and intellectual standard of these

[1] *Allgemeine Miss. Zeitschrift*, 1866, p. 433, Dr. Christlieb, "Zur Literatur des Unglaubens in Indien."

European circles when India was flooded with such trash merely out of lust after booksellers' profits. It was no wonder that the tracts based on these works issued by the Hindu Tract Society—such as *Jesus only a Man*, *One Hundred and Fifty Bible Contradictions*, *The Bible Cutter*—were only a degree more vulgar than they.[1] It is of the nature of things that movements having so weak an intellectual and so putrid a moral basis should have but a short existence. After a few years' red-hot zeal and pompous advertisement, the fervour of this aggressive hostility to missions rapidly subsided. It is characteristic that this Hindu Tract Society is essentially a product of South India, and that the theosophists had also found the most receptive soil for their frauds in the neighbourhood of Madras.

Let us mention in this connection that from about 1890 there has been a change in the intellectual level of the writings imported into India by Western agnosticism and atheism. The demands of Young India have grown. It is no longer satisfied with the tittle-tattle of materialist tirades. It desires the great scientific leaders of modern unbelief: Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, the German Häckel, and others have become its delectation. We must admit that it greatly prefers the teachings of these philosophers and naturalists, when served up in some dainty and easily digestible form or in the shape of magazine articles; as for reading the works of these scholars in their original form, most Indians have been as deficient in perseverance as in the necessary preparatory studies. For blasé Young India, however, spoilt by its English education, it is no light consolation to be able to fortify itself in its materialistic barrenness of spirit by the knowledge that it is acquainted with the results of the most modern European thought.

These particular circles give a hearty welcome to yet another category of English writings, to wit, those in which English and German scholars set forth the excellence and beauty of ancient Indian literature and of the Indian religions; in this connection the works of Professor Max Müller of Oxford and of Professor Deussen of Kiel are very widely read. When the latter sets out to prove in detail that the Vedantas not only contain the most sublime philosophy, but also the most satisfying religion, that in their purest forms they are the strongest supports of morality and the supreme consolation in all the vicissitudes of both life and death, a Hindu naturally asks

[1] An insight into the character of Indian polemic literature of this class is given in *Allgem. Miss. Zeitschrift*, 1902, p. 343, "Eine literarische Fehde gegen das Christentum."

himself, "Why then should I acquire the wisdom of foreign teachers?" There can be no manner of doubt that this importation of modern European unbelief has placed a most serious obstacle in the way of missions, particularly as regards English-trained Young India, which more and more arrogates to itself the leadership of both the public and the intellectual life of the country.

Of much greater importance than the Hindu Tract Society, however, is the Arya Samaj, which has its principal sphere in the Punjab and its headquarters in Lahore. During the last decade it has been one of the most prominent religious movements in Indian life, and has proved a hindrance of some magnitude to the work of missions.

Its founder, Mul Shankar, the son of Amba Shankar, known by his Brahman name as Swami Dayanand Saraswati, was born in 1824 at a little town in the principality of Morvi, in Kathiawar. His life falls into three periods of almost equal lengths, 1824–1845, 1845–1863, and 1863–1883. His early years were passed in the home of his Brahman parents, whose rule was according to the strictest Saivite customs. He lost faith in idol-worship whilst still only a stripling fourteen years old. During a night vigil in a temple, he saw mice running up and down upon the idol of Siva, and came to the conclusion: "It is impossible to identify the idea of an almighty and living God with this idol, across whose body mice run, and which allows itself to be polluted thereby without the slightest resistance" (extract from his incompleted autobiography). When at the age of twenty-one his father desired him to marry, he conceived such an insurmountable objection to marriage that he secretly left the house of his parents and fled.

Then for nearly twenty years he led the customary life of a wandering saint, of a Sannyasi, possessed continually, however, by a consuming thirst for knowledge, which led him to visit all the most famous ascetics and teachers. First he was introduced by Vedanta teachers at Baroda and various other places to the depths of their philosophy, and from them he received the name by which he became famous. Their teaching, however, failed to engage his affections permanently, and he turned to the Sankhya Yoga teaching, at the sacred Abu Mountain in Rajputana, where he studied zealously during a period of eight years. (In contrast to the strictly monastic Vedanta, it maintains the existence of two great original principles, soul and matter, whence it is often called "dwaita," or "the teaching of the two principles.") But the determining religious influence of his life was exercised by a blind Vedic

scholar, Swami Virajanda of Muttra, a foe to modern Sanskrit literature, who only received Dayanand as his disciple on condition that he discarded all his modern Sanskrit books—the Puranas and Tantras. For eight long years Virajanda instructed him in the deep lore of the Vedas, and finally dismissed him with his blessing, and the words: "Go forth into the world and bring light to mankind." It is remarkable that a man like Dayanand should have found it possible to study for twenty years in modern British India without once coming into close contact with Western civilisation; but he never even learnt English. During the last twenty years of his life Dayanand journeyed to and fro as a wandering teacher of religion in North India, arguing and disputing, with equal severity and unrelenting gruffness of demeanour, with Brahmans and missionaries alike. Warfare against idol-worship was an essential part of his life-work; upon the priests at idol temples and their apologists he mercilessly poured forth vials of the bitterest mockery and keenest reasoning. For a time he allied himself with the theosophist Olcott, but later severed all connection with him, nor did relations with the Brahmo Samaj and similar associations prove any more satisfactory to him. On the 10th of April 1875 he founded in Bombay the Arya Samaj, which did not, however, gain a footing in Western India; it found acceptance almost entirely in the North, in the Punjab, and the neighbouring districts. On the 30th of October 1883 he died at Ajmer.

Both by his doctrine and its tendencies, Dayanand belongs wholly to the revivalistic movement outlined above. He too sought solely to regenerate India by a return to the ancient sources of inspiration, only he went a stage farther back, beyond the mediæval age of the Puranas and the epochs of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads, to the Vedas themselves. "Back to the Vedas" was the warcry of his life. Without doubt this was a happy, nay a fruitful idea; for on the one hand the Vedas are regarded by Indians of the most diverse schools of thought as of supreme authority, and on the other they represent a comparatively pure form of religion, replete with sound morals and suggestions of lines along which subsequent devolopment may ensue. That the inspired representative of classical Indian antiquity should have united with these efforts a political battle-cry of "India for the Indians," and a hope that a new India, once more drawing its life-power from the Vedas, should arise to become an empire clothed in all its ancient glory and superior to all its enemies, is easily understood, and was in no wise dangerous, since Dayanand refrained from political agitation. But for this very reason he was the less

acceptable to both the other religions, Islam and Christianity, working alongside of him. For neither of these are of Indian origin, and, according to his view, they had no business there and ought to be rooted out no matter at how great a cost. His polemics, especially against Christianity, are therefore unspeakably violent and unjust, and can scarcely be paralleled in the whole literature of religious controversy. Since his followers also attack Christianity and Christian missions with equal bitterness, we have in this party yet another malignant adversary of missionary progress.

Dayanand's main idea, "Nothing but the Vedas," would have had much in its favour if it had been accompanied by a sound material principle; that is to say, if the prophet of the Vedas had only had sufficient scientific insight, sound historical judgment, and prophetic discernment rightly to grasp and to reproduce that which was permanently of value and of true significance in the Vedas. But for this he had neither the necessary intelligence nor the education. His philosophical bias was of the Sankhya school, whose dual principle he enlarged to a triple one, God, the soul, and matter, a trinity it was impossible to defend against any skilful attack, and which in any case found no justification in the Vedas. In another direction, too, we can see how truly and essentially "Indian" was his thought, namely, by his retention of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and of an impersonal principle of retribution, Karma, regulating that transmigration. No more than in the previous case, however, are these two conceptions, which have played such an important rôle in the later philosophies, to be traced to the older Vedas. Further, his actual mode of expressing his fundamental principle led Dayanand to the conclusion that all knowledge and perception the human mind has hitherto attained, or will attain unto, must exist, at least germinally, in the Vedas. All the discoveries of modern science, railways, telegraphs, steam-boats, and steam-engines, may be derived, according to his ideas, from the Vedas. In short, Dayanand was incapable of allowing the Vedas to speak for themselves, or of absorbing their spirit and substance; he compelled them rather to affirm precisely what suited his convenience for the time being. In fact, that peculiar and highly arbitrary exegetical principle which has been called after him, the Dayanandi, is very truly the secret and shibboleth of his school. No scientific methods, no historically critical exegesis, but simply the caprice of Dayanand, and in some cases that of his most famous disciple Gurudatta, are to decide the meaning of any given passage. He who does not bow to such an explanation, who does not accept it unconditionally, must submit

to being ridiculed as an ignoramus, an "arch-fool." The rightful conception of the Vedas and their age, the description of the conditions therein existent, are all in the highest degree arbitrary and fantastic, and render the main idea scientifically valueless, and open to attack from all sides, from the Brahman as well as the Christian camp. To complete his misfortunes, Dayanand formulated some doctrines on his own account that are as un-Indian as they are un-Vedic, and whose appearance in this connection has never been clearly explained, even by his most devoted followers. The worst of these is the Niyoga, or "free-love doctrine." According to it, any man or woman may on the most trivial grounds break the marriage vow without fear of punishment, and cohabit with others according to choice, whether widows or widowers, husbands or wives. Happily, the school has never attempted to translate this dissolute teaching into practice.

However feeble and untenable Dayanand's teaching was from the scientific or historical standpoint, nevertheless the admiration for the Vedas and the Vedic era which was effected therein, and its warm patriotic enthusiasm for India's antiquity and future, sufficed, as we have already mentioned, to procure for the Arya Samaj—as well as the high-sounding name of the "Noble Order of the Aryans"—a considerable following, particularly in the Punjab and the United Provinces. Soon after the death of its founder, however, the Samaj split up into two parties, the Mansis and Ghasis, the flesh-eaters and the vegetarians, who in spite of occasional *rapprochements* are so mutually opposed to one another that they have distinct and entirely independent party organisations; we ought, therefore, really to speak of two Arya Samajes. Their point of difference is found in their respective attitudes to their founder. The vegetarians contend, on the one hand, that Dayanand was a great Rishi and prophet; his word is unconditionally binding, and none but an equally great Rishi may change one jot or tittle of it. The more liberal flesh-eaters, on the other hand, speak less extravagantly of the inspiration and infallibility of the Master. His teaching is in the main correct, but is not in every detail incontrovertible. In trifling matters of doctrine all who have received an adequate scientific education may rightly hold varying views. In other words, the flesh-eaters desire to hold the way open for scientific progress. They are therefore zealous advocates of education, as regards which, in remarkable contrast to their founder, they have heartily fallen into line with the Indian educational system. Their Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore is the best attended

educational establishment in that city, and in the whole Punjab. The other more consistent and biased party solemnly maintains the exclusive authority of the Vedas, sanctions only an education in Sanskrit confined to the archaic methods of the Talmudists, and has inaugurated in the village of Kangri, near Hardwar, a Vedic College, or so-called "Gurukula." Both parties are zealous in propaganda, and support a paid staff of itinerant preachers to disseminate their doctrines. In all the cities of the Punjab, in most of those of the United Provinces, and as far as the centre of Northern India, there are branch Samajes. It is further remarkable that in the Punjab the movement has been confined almost entirely to the cities, whereas in the United Provinces it is the open country which has principally been influenced by it. Various explanations are offered for the fact that the Punjab has become the headquarters of the new movement. Some say that because of the close juxtaposition of Hindus and Muhammadans the caste system is there considerably weakened, and Muhammadan and Sikh influences have there awakened in Hinduism a strong monotheistic tendency. Others affirm that as far as Sanskrit learning is concerned, the Punjab is behind all other provinces of India, and that this ignorance is responsible for many people joining a sect bearing such a strong stamp of orthodoxy upon it. The number of the adherents of the Samaj has increased during the last decade by about 25,000—that is, from 41,000 to 67,107. Authorities in the Punjab appear to be unanimous in the belief that the movement has no great future to expect. "After carefully weighing over the whole matter, I have come to the conclusion," says Professor Campbell Oman,[1] "that the most promising outlook the Arya Samaj can have is to become an unimportant sect amongst the myriads into which Hinduism is divided." Nevertheless, there are those both in the Punjab and in the United Provinces who claim for the Samaj a rapid and not inconsiderable growth in influence.

Akin in spirit to the Arya Samaj, though to all outward appearances having no direct connection with it, is the movement initiated in Madras by the distinguished Brahman, Ragunath Rao Bahadur, a former Prime Minister of the state of Indore. He has been to a certain extent under Christian influences, as is seen from the fact that a Catechism for Hindus which he has compiled was copied in part from the Presbyterian Catechism! He desired, however, to protect the rising generation of Hindus from the influences of the mission schools, and therefore founded in Madras a "National College" on a strictly Hindu foundation. He was a somewhat listless though eloquent advocate

[1] *Indian Life*, p. 23.

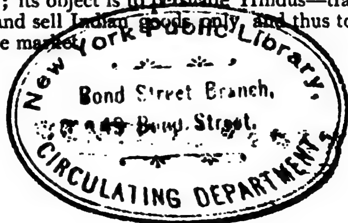
of social reform, of a confused though very well-meaning cast of mind, and in consequence has exerted no abiding influence.

The Bombay Presidency, too, has had its own Samaj, though this has not had one tithe of the importance possessed by the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal or the Arya Samaj in the Punjab. It is called the Prathana Samaj ("Prayer Society"). Founded on March 31st, 1867, it counts branch societies in nearly all the important towns, though it cannot point to any considerable number of adherents. Its object is the propagation of a colourless form of theism. Article I. of its creed runs: "God is the Creator of the universe; He is the only true God; there is no God beside Him; He is eternal, spiritual, immortal; . . . the Saviour of sinners." Article II.: "Worshipping Him can alone lead to happiness in this and in the other world." Article IV.: "To pray to, and to adore images or other created things is not the right way to worship God." Article V.: "God does not become man, no book contains a direct and infallible revelation of God." This Samaj has never attained to any extensive vitality.

Alongside of these organised efforts at a revival of Hinduism, we find numerous other attempts of a private character. They derive their motive power from national feeling, a feeling which is becoming more and more active every day. This sentiment lies at the root of the whole revival movement, and gives it its signal success. In the unrest and irritation against Christianity which is to-day everywhere finding expression, a burning patriotic yearning after the unity of the Bharata Khanda, the old land of intellect, is clearly asserting itself. The greatness of this land, so we are told, is to consist neither in military prowess nor in industrial activity, but in its intellectual insight and knowledge.

The attempts to bring about a revival of Hinduism are, it must be confessed, extremely divergent.[1] Indian antiquity offers an infinite number of types and forms, one of which seems suitable for the renovation process to one person, another to another. In Bengal some believe they are rendering a service to their mother country by giving to the press hitherto unpublished Tantra documents, books on magic, amulets and charms,—some of them entirely in red letters,—which are said to heal all diseases, to bring good fortune, to kill enemies, to bewitch women, and even to raise the dead. The literary

[1] It is worthy of note that this same "national" feeling has manifested itself, *e.g.*, in trade and in commerce. Especially in Bengal has the Swadeshi movement been talked about recently (1905); its object is to persuade Hindus—tradesmen as well as private individuals—to buy and sell Indian goods only, and thus to drive all English articles of commerce from the market.



adviser of the Anglo-Indian Government remarks thereupon: "The old mages were far wiser than their young successors, for they forbade the publication of these writings, and declared that such secrets lost their virtue when they were exposed to the eyes of the uninitiated." Others think they can defend popular idolatry with the weapons of modern science. The Puranas and the Gospels are for them of equal merit; if Krishna be legendary, then so also is Christ. Has not a modern radical Biblical Encyclopædia narrowed down the authentic sayings of Jesus to two or three? Even if Hindu mythology be untrue as history, it is at any rate a useful fiction. And it is so easy, and gives such splendid play for nimble intellects, to explain away the inconvenient features of the legends. And therefore in both English and Bengali the Hindus are equally active in reconciling and explaining away contradictory texts, in allegorising repugnant details, or in declaring them to be interpolations. This form of intellectual diversion has been specially cultivated by worshippers of Vishnu and his incarnations, and particularly of Krishna and his great Bengali prophet, Chaitanya. During the last decade a large number of works, some of them of much erudition, have been written by this school. Dr. Nanda Krishna Bose, in his work on "Incarnation," attempts to prove that the doctrine of God becoming man is not contradictory to science, and that Chaitanya's life and teaching offer a more complete religious ideal than those of Christ. Shishir Kumar Ghose has written a book of 674 pages in two volumes, entitled *Lord Gouranga, or Salvation for All.* "Gouranga" is the popular name for Chaitanya as an incarnation of Vishnu. Sil, in his work *Comparative Studies of Vishnuism and Christianity*, maintains that Vishnuism is being called upon to make the Christian idea of the Godhead and of the relations subsisting between man and God the common property of the race. A whole pile of books vie in the thankless task of purifying Krishna's life from its supernatural and immoral features and in transforming the God into a kind of nineteenth-century gentleman. The Anglo-Bengali magazine, the *Librarian*, rightly remarks there can be no doubt that this entire tendency in the religious thought of the Hindus is called forth at any rate as much by the dissemination of Christian ideas as by the study of Hindu literature, for Christian influences can be easily recognised in all these publications (dating from the year 1899 or thereabouts). A similar tendency is shown by the efforts of the recently established Society for the Revival of Indian Literature, which by cheap editions of the classics and by writings about them seeks to stimulate interest in and a knowledge of classic

Sanskrit literature. In the United Provinces there have appeared a "Radha Swami" movement and a "Ram Krishna" mission, each endeavouring in its own fashion to idealise and to modernise the Krishna legend.

The main stream of Indian thought and philosophy to-day is along the lines marked out by the Vedanta philosophy; the Upanishads, the "hidden teachings of the Vedas, the finest flower of ancient Indian thought," and the Bhagavad Gita, "the idol of the country, the fairest and noblest of all Brahmanical writings," stand in the forefront of public interest. "The Vedanta philosophy supersedes all other systems as the plan of salvation. Upanishads and Bhagavad Gita enter into competition with the gospel of Christ," writes Dr. Jones of Madura, an experienced missionary. Especially is the Bhagavad Gita—without dispute a most valuable book, and the noblest monument of Hinduism—esteemed beyond measure as the Bible of India. Thousands daily receive therefrom edification. The Hindu revivalist contends that he is striving to regain the lost intellectual position of his race; people who can expound the Shastras and set forth the Hindu ideal of life quickly win a reputation. No small number of those who have received an English education and who hold high offices of state employ their leisure in the study of their forefathers' world of thought. The assertion that the Vedanta doctrine is all-embracing and inimitable in its architectonic construction and that it is in complete harmony with the progress of modern scientific thought is emphatically defended. Since about the middle of last century two well-edited English magazines, issued by India scholars, the *Brahmavadin* ("The Comprehender of Brahma") and the *Prabuddha Bharata* ("Awakened India"), have been published in Madras to voice this Vedantic point of view; their object is also to stimulate the study of the same, and "ever to hold on high the lofty and universal ideal of Hinduism." The first of these periodicals is peculiarly the organ for the exposition of the religious thought of India in English.

Although there is doubtless in this whole movement a certain religious spirit at work beneath these old forms of Hinduism, we must none the less remember that the revival movement itself is kept alive far more by national and intellectual pride than by deep religious feeling. It is not so much the result of an honest conviction concerning the superiority of the particular doctrines and institutions of Hinduism singled out for attention, as a patriotic attempt to harmonise their ideals with those of Christianity, whose advance can be perceived in every part of the globe. A certain proud

self-consciousness—that there can be nothing in Christianity which research cannot discover in Hinduism—and a fertile criticism of traditional and nominal Christianity, are the characteristics of the religious movement of the last decade.[1] The evangelisation of the Hindus as a people is, in the opinion of Young India, as far off as the Millennium. "There is room enough in the world for both Hinduism and Christianity." Unhappily this too general pseudo-patriotic spirit blinds many of their best men to the honest study of the religious problem. For far too large a number religious truths are little more than objects upon which to exercise their ingenuity and opportunities for airing their dialectics. Too much criticism and disputation, too little serious investigation and solid thinking, are the signs of the times. And the aimless steering hither and thither of the revival, as new examples of the multitudinous features of the religion and literature of ancient India are picked out and brought into prominence, lend it no element of hope, no prospect of enduring success.

4. Corresponding Movements in Indian Muhammadanism

One often hears and reads the assertion that, whilst Hinduism has responded with an astonishing degree of receptivity to every religious enterprise undertaken by Christian missions, the latter have not as yet been able to exert the least abiding influence upon Indian Muhammadanism. That is absolutely untrue. The leaven of Western culture and of missionary activity is also at work amongst the Indian followers of Islam, though the results assume other and more abstruse forms, and they are not equally large in every province. Of the 62½ millions of Indian Muhammadans, fully two-fifths reside in Bengal, especially in the eastern part of Lower Bengal, where they generally constitute the lower class village population, living in the densest ignorance, and taking practically no part at all in the modern intellectual life and development of India. Their Muhammadanism is so interpenetrated with low Hindu and pagan elements that the Census officials were often in doubt whether to reckon certain groups under the heading of Muhammadans or Hindus. Their language, too, a remarkable

[1] The protean-shaped character of Hinduism is demonstrated by the fact that to-day it is striving to accentuate those features in its mollusc-like system which it is most easily possible to bring into harmony with Christianity. This unlimited faculty of adaptation, however, is quite as much a weakness as a strength of this religion; for it proves to the sincere investigator the absence of a real content of truth.

and capriciously mingled compound of Bengali and Urdu, the so-called "Mussalmani Bengali," renders them very difficult of access. There can be scarcely any question of intellectual activity amongst these indolent masses. All that is done is that educated Muhammadans of the towns and cities send out itinerant preachers to dissipate to some slight extent the darkness that exists in the minds of their co-religionists.

Nor are the Muhammadans of South India distinguished for mental vigour. The sole movement amongst them is that headed by three apostates, White of Karnal, Hamid Snow, a Eurasian, and the somewhat better known Abdullah Quilliam, who has founded the "New Sect of the Nazarenes," noteworthy because of its having been transplanted by Mr. Quilliam to Liverpool, where it has gained some foothold by means of the "Moslem Institute." Mr. White, or White Khan Sahib as he is called in India, is, according to all appearance, the actual founder; its adherents are required, in accordance with the example of Jesus, to know something of carpentry; they use at prayer, as well as Arabic, which they do not understand, Urdu, which they do; their women may attend the services at the mosques, and so on. The law of Moses is unconditionally binding upon them; of the New Testament they recognise the Gospel according to St. Matthew, but reject the writings of both St. John and St. Paul. A pilgrimage to Nazareth is one of the most important of their religious duties. The whole movement is obviously a confused and aimless mixture of Islam and Christianity, without inward inspiration or strength.[1]

The only parts of India in which Muhammadanism has hitherto given evidence of independent vitality are the United Provinces and the Punjab, and there interest concentrates around the names of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Mirza Ghulam Ahmed of Qadian. Syed Ahmed and his party—especially Chiragh Ali, the "Maulvi," and Amir Ali, a judge of the High Court of Calcutta—seek to bring Islam into fresh vogue by recognising and adopting the sum total of Western knowledge,

[1] A great deal has been made in the Muhammadan world of Mr. Quilliam's Moslem propaganda in Liverpool. It has been loudly proclaimed, both in the Punjab and in Muhammadan Bengal, that crowds of Englishmen were being converted to Islam. The Sultan has even conferred upon Mr. Quilliam the distinguished title of a Sheikh-ul-Islam. English missionaries, for their own sake, caused the most diligent inquiries to be made at Liverpool, and ascertained that the entire membership of the adherents of the apostates was some eleven men, half a dozen women, and a dozen children, mostly belonging to the very lowest classes of the people, and dependent on Mr. Quilliam financially. His religious services are a turbid and arbitrary medley of Christian and Muhammadan elements, which no orthodox Moslem would have anything to do with. The whole affair is humbug!—Cf. *Indian Evangelical Review*, 1901, p. 119.

particularly natural science and its allied branches of study. They teach that reason alone is a sufficient guide. The Islam of the last thirteen centuries is not the real Islam, but one built up by Ulama, a scholarly theologian, who, they assert, completely misunderstood the spirit of the Koran and of tradition. In consequence of this, the first converts of Muhammad soon relapsed from the teachings of his holy religion into the folly of the "times of ignorance." Accordingly, Sir Syed Ahmed's teaching is termed "New Islam." His creed is, "Islam is nature, nature is Islam"; Divine revelation (in the orthodox sense), prophecy, miracles, incarnation, and inspiration, are therefore rejected. A prophet is a man peculiarly endowed with a genius for the discovery and investigation of moral and spiritual truth; this special equipment constitutes his "inspiration." Every message from God must be tested rather by human reason than by any miracles of *soi-disant* celestial origin.

It will easily be understood that teaching of this kind met with violent opposition on the part of orthodox Muhammadanism, for what else is it than the *rationalismus vulgaris* in Muhammadan garb. Nevertheless, Sir Syed Ahmed has gained a considerable following, and founded a sect, the members of which are termed by their opponents the Naturis (from the English "nature") or Syed Ahmedis. Their strong point is their College, which was founded by Sir Syed at Aligarh in 1878, and which aims at becoming a great Moslem university. The reform of education generally, and particularly of girls' education, and other social aims are also items in their programme, and eager attempts are made by means of annual conferences held in the great towns to promote these and similar objects. Sir Syed Ahmed died in the year 1898.

Whilst the appearance of such a man is easily accounted for by the collision between a fossilised Islamic civilisation and the modern civilisation of the West,—being in himself an eloquent testimony to the superiority of the latter,—Ghulam Ahmed of Qadian, on the other hand, is a wild and confused mixture of elements, an extraordinary plant of the marshes, grown in the weed-covered labyrinth of Muhammadan theology, and at the same time nurtured by the light and sun of Christianity. Ghulam is a remarkable man. He writes clever books, and in such elegant Urdu, Persian, and Arabic that he is able to challenge his opponents in the most graceful Arabic literary articles to admit or to disprove his divine mission; besides this he has also inaugurated an English magazine, *The Review of Religions*, the lengthy pages of which he fills almost single-

handed. He has not only read the Old and New Testaments thoroughly, but is likewise acquainted with certain apocryphal works such as, *e.g.*, the "Gospel according to Barnabas," and with novels such as that of the Russian author, Nicolas Notovitch, *The Unknown Life of Christ*. But he lacks every atom of critical discernment in estimating the relative worth and credibility of these writings. He studies both Christian and Muhammadan theology, yet falls a victim to the most astounding and contradictory superstitions. In his pretensions no one would term him modest. He claims to be the Christian Messiah, returned according to His promise, and likewise the promised Mahdi of the Muhammadans—at one and the same time! And it is really most remarkable to see how he justifies such high assumptions. He does not pretend to be the same Messiah as He who lived in Palestine nineteen hundred years ago; he merely maintains that he has come "in the spirit and power of the Messiah" just as John the Baptist, to use the Lord's own words, came "in the spirit and power of Elias." He tells us Christians that our resurrection hope is erroneous, Christ did not die on the cross, but after remaining there for a few hours was taken down apparently dead; the disciples healed His wounds in a few days with some most wonderful ointment, the "Marham-i-Isa," or "Jesus ointment," which is still sold as a charm in India; Jesus then proceeded to India, where He died at Srinagar at the age of 120. He was buried there in the Kan Yar Street, where the grave of "Yusasaf" (*i.e.* of Yusa, Jesus, the Asaf (Hebrew), the gatherer, *i.e.* of the lost sheep or in other words, of the ten lost tribes of Israel),[1] is still pointed out. Allah had first sent Moses the lawgiver to Israel, then, about 1400 years later, the Messiah. Now in Deuteronomy xviii. 18, a prophet like unto Moses is promised from among his "brethren," who are, of course, the Ishmaelites; this prophet was Mahomet, the Moses of the Ishmaelites; thus, if Ishmael were to receive a Moses, God must of course send them a Messiah, 1400 years after Moses; and he, Ghulam, is that Messiah. On the sixth day God created Adam; now with God a thousand years are as one day, consequently at the beginning of the sixth period of a thousand years God must have created the second Adam, and of course, he, Ghulam, is that second Adam. Just as God placed Adam in a garden "towards the east" (Gen. ii. 8), so only, as a matter of course, could the second Adam appear in the east, *i.e.* in India. If any one should further doubt the reliability of these statements, his very

[1] Local investigations have discovered that there does exist in the street mentioned the grave of some *modern* Muhammadan saint, such as are found in thousands all over the Muhammadan world.

existence is proof conclusive enough. God has sent him in the fulness of time, and therefore all prophecy must find its fulfilment in him. And one has only to compare his life with that of Jesus of Nazareth to see that he makes far greater claims to Messiahship than He. "I wonder what people find so remarkable in the Son of Mary that they should make him the Son of God. Is it His miracles? Mine are greater than His. Were His prophecies clear and true? I should be guilty of concealing the truth did I not maintain that the prophecies given to me by Almighty God far surpass, both in clearness, in power, and in truth, the ambiguous predictions of Jesus. Are we to base His Divinity on the words used concerning Him in the Gospels? I swear by the Lord that the revealed words of God attesting my high position are far weightier and far more laudatory than the words of the Gospels relating to Jesus" (*Review of Religions*, May 1902, p. 206). What, then, are the miracles of Mirza of Qadian? He can scarcely mean anything but his prophecies; here his favourite method has been to threaten all whom he dislikes with an early death, and he has conducted himself in this respect so indecently that the English Government finally compelled him to sign a document in which he expressly promised never again to threaten any man with God's wrath and with instant dissolution! But enough of these astounding details, which we could go on repeating *ad infinitum*.

At first sight we are inclined to say that Ghulam was mad and suffered from monomania, but Rev. Dr. Griswold, a Lahore missionary, who has studied both the man and his writings most thoroughly, and who also knows him personally, believes that he was most honestly convinced of the truth of his mission, and that he was likewise able to produce in his adherents the same conviction. Besides, it must be remembered that he is merely a sign of the times in Muhammadanism, within which alone he has attained to renown and made disciples. All his attempts to convince native Christians, or even Englishmen resident in India, of the authenticity of his mission have miserably failed. Considered as a product of North Indian Muhammadanism, this Mirza is certainly a highly remarkable figure. In passing we should notice that the Bible and the Christian faith have already gained on the Muhammadans to such an extent that they resort to these and similar eccentric attempts in order to hold their own. We ought not to forget that Mirza has throughout shown himself possessed by the most embittered hatred for anything Christian, especially for Christian missionaries, and has not even refrained from the impudence of slandering in most despicable fashion Jesus, in whose spirit and power he pretends to have come, and whose exact likeness

(Masil-i-Masih, shadow of the Messiah) he originally loved to be called.[1]

Orthodox Muhammadanism has of course occupied a standpoint of definite opposition to Mirza Ghulam and his followers. His teaching transgresses at every point the accepted theology of Islam. According to the new Census he has 1113 male followers above fifteen years of age. Dr. Griswold calculates the entire sect at ten thousand souls at the very outside, assumes, however, that it may yet increase considerably. Ghulam Ahmed's recent death (1908) may prove a serious set-back to the movement.

There are also other movements in orthodox Muhammadanism, all of which are opposed to Christianity, and seek to fortify themselves against its attacks. In North India a "Society for the Defence of Islam" has been founded. Simply with the object of interrupting Christian work and working against it, it opens elementary and intermediate schools, prints newspapers and pamphlets, organises preaching tours, pays preachers, and even promotes zenana visiting.

Wherever we look in India, whether at Hinduism or at Islam, we find unrest and fermentation. The leaven of the gospel and of Christian civilisation is at work in the stagnant mass; on all hands there is a stir and a commotion among the dry bones. The far-reaching and profound effect produced by Christianity upon the intellectual life of India is one of the proofs of the real vitality of missions, and the fact that all these movements have been set in motion by, and have developed partly in connection with, Protestant missions and partly in direct opposition thereto, is an overwhelming evidence of their superiority.

[1] *Indian Evangelical Review*, 1903, pp. 322–384.

CHAPTER VII

THE SUCCESS OF MISSIONS—THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF INDIA

1. Numerical Success

To tabulate the numerical results of missions is difficult on all mission fields, but particularly so in India. That a new era has here dawned in almost every department of life, in the religious, the ethical, the political, and the social departments, in philology, in literature, in education, and in other branches, no one can entertain the least doubt. Still less would any one doubt the fact that in the renaissance of all these varying departments missions have taken a distinguished part, that in many of them they have been the first pioneers. It is impossible to write a detailed history of India in the nineteenth century without encountering missionary work and great missionaries at every step. But the department to which in this book we first turn and where we most earnestly desire to ascertain results is that of religion. For the great revolutions which are there being prepared, for the incisive movements which have there come and gone, and which must be regarded as directly or indirectly the result of missionary work, we refer the reader to the sixth chapter of this book. But the friends of missions want to know more than this; they demand figures showing the size of the native church and the number of baptized converts and of catechumens. In India, however, any such standard of measurement is particularly inadequate, and in certain aspects of the work it is almost misleading. In the higher castes and upper strata of society enormous difficulties block the way of any one desiring to embrace Christianity, and the taking of this decisive step demands both heroic courage and uncommon energy —just the very two virtues most seldom found united in the Hindu. It will therefore be understood that there are many in these particular classes of society who shrink from making a profession of faith, who postpone it, and who for the present rest content with a faith which may be very real to its

possessor and may be diligently nourished by the Word of God. The descendants of Nicodemus, or "Borderers" as they are called in India, are nowhere so numerous as on the Indian mission field. On the other hand, among the lowest classes of the people and the forest tribes, missions come as a means of help in time of great distress, as a rescuer from hopeless degeneracy. They take nothing, they give everything—schooling to neglected children, food, work, the means of existence, and a more respectable social position to starving parents. For them to embrace Christianity is easier and more seductive; Christian missions have had to stem the influx in order that undesirable elements and such as are only moved by material considerations may be kept out. It would be easy but unjust to compare the numerical results in either case, and to describe the work amongst one section of the community as fruitless and devoid of all prospect of success, and that amongst the other section as a veritable outpouring of the Holy Ghost, as a new Pentecost.

But we have no other standard upon which to proceed than numerical statistics, and in our materialistic age reliable figures are at any rate of considerable relative worth. Such figures we have given at the close of each division in our historical survey in Chapter III.; but we must now examine a little more closely the reliability of these statistics. For this purpose we shall limit ourselves to the last twenty-five years. Here we find three entirely independent calculations at our disposal, the Government Census, the Decennial Missionary Tables, and Dr. Grundemann's statistics. Let us first give their respective totals for India, exclusive of Ceylon and Burma:—

	Government Census.	Decennial Tables.	Dr. Grundemann.
1881	...	417,872	304,303 (for 1878).
1891	573,753[1]	559,661	420,675 (for 1888).
1901	825,466	854,867	776,562 (for 1898).

The difference in these figures is obviously great. Which column may we accept as the most reliable? At first sight we are tempted to prefer the Census figures. But one single example will suffice to show what mistakes have crept into this column even recently. According to the Census of 1891 there were 2,158,240 "scholars" and 675,357 "literates" under fifteen years of age—a sum total of 2,833,597. According to the Census of 1901 there was, notwithstanding the enormous educational development which had taken place during the

[1] The *Census Report for* 1890 (p. 179) gives 584,307; from this number 83,189 evangelical Christians in Burma have been deducted, and 72,635 in Travancore and Cochin added.

preceding decade, only a total in both columns of 2,129,439; that is to say, 700,000 less, whereas we ought to expect as many more. This is clearly a Census mistake of over a million, and we cannot suppose that the religious Census taken mostly by non-Christians or Muhammadans will be more reliable than this "Education Census." We shall therefore not take it as our authority, but merely use it for purposes of comparison. Dr. Grundemann is a missionary specialist in statistics, and he bases all his calculations on what is relatively the safest material to go upon, to wit, the annual reports of the various Societies. Our objection to his data, however, is that he invariably chooses a minimum which is absolutely beyond all manner of doubt instead of striking a probable average, and he leaves most of the lesser Societies out of count altogether. His figures are therefore everywhere valuable, but their sum totals are too small. The Decennial Missionary Tables are prepared at the close of every decade for the Decennial Conference by a local committee at Calcutta, and are based on schedules sent round to all the Societies at work in India. They are not faultless, as we shall see, but they contain what is relatively the best material at our disposal. We have, therefore, in all figures given previously, regarded them as reliable.[1] Though their sum-totals also are not so trustworthy as we could wish, yet they are essentially indicative of the progressive development of the Indian Missionary Church. According to the Decennial Missionary Tables there were in India:—

	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.	1890.	1900.
Protestant Christians	91,092	138,731	324,258	417,572	559,661	854,867
Communicants among the foregoing	14,661	24,976	52,816	113,325	182,722	301,699
Churches or Congregations	267	971	2,278	3,650	4,863	5,362
Ordained Native Christians	21	97	225	461	797	893

Confining ourselves to the first and, for us, most important set of figures, we see that during the period 1851–1861 the increase was 54 per cent.; 1861–1871, 54 per cent.; 1871–1881, 87 per cent.; 1881–1890, 34 per cent.; and in 1890–1900, 53 per cent. When we remember that during the decade 1871–1881 there was an extraordinarily large increase in consequence of the terrible famine of 1876–1879, and that during the following decade, 1881–1891, there ensued, on the contrary, a very necessary season of sifting and winnowing, that in the two

[1] For detailed list of numbers belonging to the various branches of the Christian Church in India, cf. Appendix N.

decades taken together, however, the whole increase of about 110 per cent. is equivalent to twice 55 per cent., we find that throughout the last half-century an approximately regular increase of 54 per cent. per decade has been maintained.

2. The Component Elements of a Protestant Native Church

Both to obtain a just conception of these masses of Christians, as well as to gain some insight into the internal development of missions, it is of importance to analyse the component elements of the Native Churches. Their members are in the main drawn from five different strata of society. Away back in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century individual Hindus and Muhammadans had joined all the missionary societies. Though we cannot go so far as to say there were no representatives of the upper classes nor even of the Brahmans amongst them, yet the majority were certainly drawn from the lower and the lowest strata of the people. Often enough they were people who through some misdeed or inadvertency had lost caste, and who now sought a refuge amongst the Christians. Frequently they were detached units of the people, such as servants, hawkers, travelling mendicants, and occasionally sepoys, who, at a distance from home and people, were more easily accessible to the influences of the foreign teaching. Almost invariably they had previously possessed either no assured means of livelihood, or they lost it on becoming Christians. The missionaries, who regarded these first fruits with the most maternal tenderness, and in whose eyes the sacrifices made by the new converts loomed infinitely larger than their necessities, supported these tiny and strangely assorted groups of members with the greatest conscientiousness. They (the converts) were generally allowed to encamp in the missionary compounds or on plots of ground acquired by the missionaries in their immediate vicinity. As far as possible some little employment was provided for each one whereby he might gain the necessary means of subsistence; his children were reared more or less at the expense of the mission, and in times of distress or sickness charity was dispensed with no reluctant hand. The missionary was the "Ma-bap" or "mother-father" of the Christian community, and this latter was generally in entire financial, social, and intellectual dependence upon the mission. The "barrack system" is the name ironically applied to these patriarchal times by Indian Christians themselves at a later period.

In the famine of 1837 missionaries first gathered together on a large scale children who had been made orphans by the famine, and erected orphanages for them, a number of which, such as those at Sigra near Benares and at Sikandra near Agra, soon acquired considerable fame. It lay in the very nature of the case that within a decade of the famine, at the very outside, the education of the famine orphans was accomplished.

The houses were then filled with the children of Christian parents until another famine brought in fresh hosts of orphans. Particularly in North India, where missionary success was nearly always very sparse, the idea often presented itself, of developing reliable communities of native Christians from these charges, often entrusted to missions in their tenderest years, and thus placing before the eyes of the heathen an object lesson on a large scale of the Christian life as embodied in an entire community. At the same time a possibility would be opened up of educating for missionary service a thoroughly trained staff of helpers. During the last sixty years of the past century there have always been several thousands of children in mission orphanages, but only during the great famines at the close of the century, 1896–1897 and 1899–1900, were orphanages founded in large numbers. In 1901 Dennis reported one hundred and fifteen orphanages with 8960 boys and girls resident therein.[1] Two years later it was calculated that 25,000 orphan children were under the protection of evangelical missions.[2] What missions have done for these masses of children, who without their aid must surely have perished, is written upon the red-letter pages of the annals of Indian missionary history.

The task missions had undertaken in connection with these children was a more difficult and complicated one than had at first been supposed. Of course during periods of famine Hinduism endeavours to succour its own adherents; and in general it is only the children of the poorest and most degraded sections of the community who fall into the hands of the missionaries. In addition to the fact that owing to centuries of oppression these classes are generally dull and obtuse, most of the children have undergone the most terrible privations before entering the orphanages, by which they have suffered both bodily and mentally, and often spiritually also. They present an educational task as difficult as it is thankless. The children are generally baptized on their admittance; that certainly guarantees a solid Christian training, but at the same time it makes missions responsible for them during the rest of their lives, for thereby they definitely are cut off from the caste system. They must remain Christians, or they are socially and

[1] *Centennial Survey*, p. 216. [2] *Intelligencer*, 1903, p. 722; 1902, p. 19.

morally lost! Is it to be marvelled at that under such circumstances a large percentage of these orphan children became "stones of offence" to the missionaries, and not infrequently a disgrace to the missionary cause? The missionaries were of course obliged to assume the part of both father and mother to all the children they received, and also to concern themselves with the maintenance and advancement of those who had outgrown the orphanages. And if, as we well know, the character of the Indian people is one tending in a high degree to dependence, parasitism, and subordination to a stronger will, how were these hosts of children to be taught to stand on their own feet independent of the missionaries, and to earn their bread with the sweat of their brow, especially when they had in missions such an immeasurably rich "Ma-bap." As far as possible they were brought up to serve as helpers in church and school, and it is largely owing to these orphanages that most North Indian missions have an excellent native staff. But in view of the extraction of the children, we must not be astonished when we find that only a small percentage possess the capacity for such advanced training. Attempts were made to interest them in agriculture, as most of them came from rural districts. Christian agricultural villages were founded; the best known of these are Sikandra near Agra, Basharatpur and Sterapur near Gorakhpur, and Annfield in the Dehra Dun.[1] But this "village system," whereby the native Christians lived on mission land and in financial dependence upon missions, was far from

[1] The Christian village of Sigra near Benares was built within the missionary compound, and thus resembled the "barrack" system. The village of Muirabad outside the gates of Allahabad was a noble gift from Sir William Muir, the devoted ruler of the United Provinces, and was principally intended for Christians employed in the offices and factories of the adjoining city. The inhabitants of the Christian village of Sharanpur near Nasik were occupied with cart-making and similar labour. In quite recent times the idea of transplanting poor Christians into agricultural villages has been taken up with great energy; the Irish Presbyterians in Gujarat and Kathiawar, the Church Missionary Society in the Punjab, at Clarkabad, Montgomerywala, Isapur, and Batemanabad, and the United Free Church of Scotland in the Chingleput district at Andreiapuram or, according to Rev. A. Andrews, Melrosapuram, carry on this kind of work on a large scale; whilst the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel around Trichinopoly, the Leipzig Missionary Society in the country districts of Madras, the Herrmannsburg Society, the Breklum Society, and others, are also engaged to a certain extent. The Madras Conference of 1902 warmly recommended this branch of labour to the consideration of all missionary societies (*Report of the Madras Decennial Conference of 1902*, p. 146). When the Government places large and not wholly barren tracts of land at the disposal of such an enterprise, as has been done with most encouraging promptitude in the Punjab, the matter is of course quite practicable. But when this is not the case, the heavy cost of acquiring land and the uncertainty of even moderate interest being yielded on the capital invested present almost insuperable difficulties—as the Leipzig Society in particular has found out in the Madras district. The religious and moral advantages of this system, and its dangers too, are just the same to-day as they were about the middle of the last century.

being conducive to the development of independent Christians possessed of Christian backbone, and after the children by their Christian education in the orphanages had been estranged from the surrounding population, they became in these Christian villages wholly self-contained foreign bodies, devoid of all vital attraction for the heathen by whom they were surrounded.

Attempts have also been made to train the heathen in handicrafts. But owing to the rigid caste system of Hinduism, only a limited number of crafts are available for those not belonging to a caste. Regarding Christians as outside the pale, the heathen simply refuse to have work done by them. There remain therefore only two practical expedients. Either missions must themselves make up their minds to instal manual and mechanical trades on a large scale,—the method adopted with great skill and success in Malabar and Kanara by the Basle Missionary Society,—or trades and occupations must be chosen which depend on the ever increasingly numerous English element in the country, posts as copyists and secretaries, type-setting and printing, working in European manufactories, and so on. Down to the Mutiny in 1857 the administration of North India fought shy of appointing native Christians to posts on their staff, to the disadvantage of the Christians and also of the Government. Since then things have improved, but even to-day native Christians have a difficulty in asserting themselves in the European service, for the Hindus and Muhammadans generally strain every nerve to keep them out.

And what of those who were incompetent both for the missionary service and any kind of handicraft? They were and still remain the missionaries' greatest care. Frequently they sought to earn their bread by entering the service of Englishmen or other Europeans, but in a position of such temptation, often the only Christians amongst a numerous and adverse body of heathen servants, under masters who were probably anything but decided Christians, and who further shared the almost universal prejudice against them, they seldom stood firm. They were then discharged with ignominy, and the Europeans had a further proof that "Indian Christians are no good," and in the end nothing was left for missionaries to do but to feed these their unfortunate children themselves! And yet the work of self-sacrifice and devotion among famine orphans has been on the whole richly rewarded. Such children, along with their children and children's children, form the nucleus of nearly all native churches in the cities of Bengal and the United Provinces. And the director of one of the largest and most famous orphanages, that of Sikandra near Agra, assured the author that, after careful

personal investigation, he was in a position to state that only very few of the families of former members of his own institution had gone astray, whereas the majority occupied respectable positions and formed a section of society continually and creditably increasing in intelligence and moral force, especially in the second and third generations.

In view of the immoderately large number of famine orphans now in mission orphanages, the question of their education until they are able to obtain an independent livelihood occupies more than ever the minds of the missionaries. They are all united in the opinion that under prevailing conditions industrial occupations are the most desirable; "industrial missions," therefore, are the order of the day. Energetic Scotchmen have founded a "Scottish Missionary Industrial Company" which has *e.g.* taken over and developed the missionary printing presses in Ajmer and Poona belonging to the United Free Church of Scotland. A second "Industrial Missionary Aid Society" (founded in 1897) maintains a capitally equipped carpet-weaving establishment at Ahmadnagar, principally on behalf of the orphans who are under the care of the American Board; its main objects are, however: (1) To be an information bureau, able to assist all missionaries in the choice of suitable branches of industry, the procuring of all necessary instruments, etc.; (2) to be an agency for the sale of all articles produced in these workshops. For the last-named purpose it has opened various shops and depôts in Bombay and London. Its founder and director is Mr. H. W. Fry of London. But far beyond the sphere of influence of this Missionary Aid Society, which after all does not represent any very large amount of capital, industrial workshops and schools are being built in connection with nearly every mission, from the Himalayas in the far north to the most southern point of the island of Ceylon. They compose, along with schools, zenana work, and medical missions, an essential part of modern missionary organisation. In distinction to the other branches of missionary labour, however, they are almost exclusively intended for the education and uplifting of the younger members of the Christian community. For this reason we have considered them not in the fifth, but in the seventh chapter of this work.

Whereas in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century members of the highest castes were met with amongst the converts only at rare intervals, considerable numbers of Brahmans and other members of the religious and intellectual aristocracy of the country were converted to Christianity after 1830, under the magnetic influence of Dr. Duff, and soon afterwards also in connection with the mission colleges everywhere founded in

accordance with his advice and example. Forty-eight such conversions resulted from Duff's direct influence. The Banerjeas and the Chatterjeas, the Mukerjeas and the Dutts, the Ghoses and the Chakarbuttys and others formed an entirely new element in Indian Christendom. This class of convert has never, thank God, died out; and conversions from the intellectual aristocracy of Muhammadanism have also taken place. The well-known Imad-ud-Din, who died in 1903, mentioned in a paper sent to the Chicago Parliament of Religions in 1893 the names of some ninety distinguished Muhammadans who had been converted to Christianity. This aristocracy of brain and of heart, who have almost all given up family and property, position and prospects, for the sake of Christ, are the veritable pillars of Indian Christendom. Nevertheless we cannot but recognise that their adhesion to missions, particularly in the early decades of the century, was a distinct source of difficulty. That far-reaching dependence upon missions in which the native churches found themselves under the "barrack" and "village" systems, was, naturally enough, not altogether pleasing to these great free spirits; they were rather disposed to interfere on behalf of these "downtrodden" ones, and to reproach missions with keeping the native Christians in leading strings and neglecting their education in manly independence. They were the natural leaders and pastors of the native churches; yet they were the very ones to introduce endless complications into the vexed question—already difficult enough—of the regular pastoral oversight of these congregations, by demanding (and their demand was just), on account of their past history and position, salaries that the poverty-stricken native churches were quite unable to pay. They were the most valuable allies of the missionaries from over-seas in the intellectual warfare against Hinduism and Islam, and many of them accomplished great things in research into these systems of religion as well as in actual conflict with them; we need only recall the names of Nehemiah Goreh, Imad-ud-Din, and Thakurdas. But for this very reason it was most difficult to define to their general satisfaction their spiritual and temporal relationship both to the missionaries and to the native churches. Such difficulties, however, even when they led to passing misunderstandings and heated controversy at the great Mission Conferences, only presented themselves to be overcome. With this contingent from the intellectual aristocracy of the country, missions publicly made good their claim upon every class of society in the country, and showed how the most brilliantly gifted minds of India might be of use in the service of the Master and in the building up of His kingdom.

In the fourth missionary period, 1857–1880, a new factor pressed into the foreground of the missionary situation, and for a quarter of a century attracted universal attention, namely, the hill and forest tribes, the aborigines of India. Since the famous days of the Tinnevelly Mission (1820–1845) no such numerous and promising conversions had been seen as now occurred amongst the Kôls and the Santals. And what was particularly cheering was the fact that the task here presented to the missionaries corresponded exactly with the ideal of missionary work which, based upon experience in Africa and Polynesia, had been formed in the homeland. Simple agricultural and hunting tribes knocked at the door of the Christian Church and besought admission; congregations, churches, schools, a staff of teachers and preachers, all could be inaugurated in the greatest simplicity, from the very bottom rung of the ladder to the top; the powers and abilities already existent in the newly received converts could at once be brought into play. All the clumsy apparatus of Indian missionary organisation—educational, medical, zenana, industrial missions, etc.—could be dispensed with. And it was precisely in this limitation to forces that lay ready to their hand that the highest genius was manifested. It is noteworthy that, as a general rule, Englishmen and Americans have had no great measure of success in carrying on missions to aboriginal tribes (to see this we have only to compare the work of the S.P.G. in Chota Nagpur with that of Gossner's Mission, or the C.M.S. with the "Indian Home Mission" among the Santals); they bring to bear upon the simpler conditions of work the unwieldy institutional apparatus in use in other parts of the country, and therewith they greatly increase the difficulty of their task. It is a question still needing solution as to how far it is necessary to labour for the social and economic uplifting of these aborigines, after bringing them the benefits of Christianity. The two most active missions in this field, Gossner's Mission to the Kôls and the Scandinavian Santal Mission, are inclined to keep their adherents simply in the position they have inherited from their fathers, and thus to enable them to earn their daily bread; they take special care that all further education and instruction given to their teachers and preachers shall not unfit them for that station in life in which they have previously been brought up.

We have already pointed out in our historical survey that the main body of the Indian Christians converted in more recent times is either from the lower strata of the lowest Sudra castes or from among the outcastes. Although to an unskilled European eye the distinction between these two divisions may

seem of little worth it is yet of considerable importance for a right apprehension of Indian conditions of work. To the lowest Sudra castes belong the Shanars of Tinnevelly and Travancore, the Malas of Central and North Telugu Land, the Tiyans and Billawas of Malabar and South Kanara, and the Mazhabi Sikhs in the Punjab; amongst the outcastes we find the Pariahs of the Central and North Tamil districts, the Madigas of the Telugu district, the Mahars and Mangs of the Maratha country, the Chamars, Mehtars, and Churahs of North India, etc. It is one of the most attractive tasks of the missionary historian to investigate how, now here now there, one of these groups is laid hold of and gripped by Christian missions, how to a greater or lesser degree mass movements follow, and how these movements come to a standstill almost as suddenly as they begin. Here, however, our only duty is to inquire into the nature of the task presented by work amongst these inferior castes, particularly in the case of mass movements. There was a time—in the early days of the Shanan Mission in Tinnevelly for instance, or during the revival amongst vast masses of the Madigas and Malas after the great famine of 1876–1879—when one was inclined, particularly in enthusiastic missionary circles at home, to regard these movements as occasions for triumph at new outpourings of the Holy Ghost; but out on the mission-field itself a more sober spirit, a spirit better able to appreciate the actual condition of things, is now almost universally prevalent. These masses of people have been mainly attracted to the missionaries for social or mundane reasons. After centuries of merciless oppression by the upper castes, who regard all education and civilisation as their own particular privilege and keep the lower castes in total ignorance or in a barren gloomy demon worship, these lower castes are beginning to perceive that a new day is breaking for them, and that missions are benevolently stretching out a hand to lead them into a state of existence worthy of rational creatures. If the great motto of missions be, "The poor have the Gospel preached unto them," the salvation of the offscourings of Indian society is a task worthy of the humble followers of a self-denying Master. Certainly it is a task beset with thorns; in far the greater number of cases it is impossible to make good citizens of these Pariah Christians. Even when they have been baptized so much of the physical and moral filth of their sombre past generally adheres to them that critics have an easy task in emptying the vials of their scorn upon these Pariah missions and their "rice Christians." Missionaries, too, know well what dangers these mass movements hold in store for them. Although the motives of the converts are principally of a

social kind, it is only possible for missions to afford them a limited measure of assistance. If the help they expect be not rendered, they are soon dissatisfied and turn away; what help they do actually receive, they consider as the natural reward for their profession of Christianity, and proffer no thanks whatever for it. Should such aid ameliorate their social position, they soon become impertinent and supercilious towards the castes that were formerly above them. Mass movements also render increasingly difficult the unremitting task of carefully instructing the individual; the women are perhaps overlooked, special spiritual oversight is neglected, and much of the leaven of heathenism, both with regard to ideas and to manners, is allowed to enter the Church.[1] It is a fruitful subject for discussion in missionary circles, whether it is wise to proletariatise Indian Christendom too greatly by too large an influx of Pariah congregations, and thereby to render Christianity wholly despicable and unacceptable to the higher classes as the religion of the Pariah. On the other hand, owing to the well-known lack of will-power in the Hindu, it is much easier for him to become a Christian in company with many others than if he had to take the weighty step alone: great numerical results are only possible in mass movements.

Missionaries cannot and ought not to leave the masses who have joined them in the dull depression and intellectual sterility of their earlier heathen condition. What are they then to require of these people, unused to every kind of mental activity, who have never had a school training, before they permit them to be baptized? To how great an extent and in what particular ways may or ought missions to work for the social uplifting of these masses? When these questions first presented themselves in the Tinnevelly Mission and in the religious movement in the Krishnagar district of Bengal, missionaries thought the simplest and most effective solution of the problem was to erect elementary and secondary schools, to pass through them, largely at the cost of the mission, as many boys and girls as possible who appeared to possess any degree of ability, and then to employ these scholars either in the service of the mission or in specially created and lucrative posts in the lower branches of the civil service. But after half a century's experience one is inclined to doubt whether after all it is a good thing to elevate so many belonging to one particular social grade above that grade. With the large funds generously placed at its disposal by the allied Industrial Missionary Aid Society, the Basle Missionary Society first took the step of creating employment on a large scale for its catechumens and

[1] *Report of Bombay Decennial Missionary Conference for 1892*, p. 567.

native Christians by opening factories. In various parts of the country an attempt has also been made to provide employment that shall be in harmony with Indian customs by training the native Christians as small farmers on their own allotments (cf. p. 411, note). But for this large monetary funds, very competent and reliable overseers, and patient skill in adapting oneself to the truly novel conditions of Indian agricultural life, are needed. The experiments that have been made in this direction up to the present are not, on the whole, encouraging. Nowadays the question is being diligently considered, both in North and South India, as to whether some industries or handicrafts cannot be discovered which, while not demanding too large an outlay of capital and of unwieldy plant, may prove the foundation on which to base a self-supporting and independent order of society consisting entirely of Christian handicraftsmen. We ought not to fail to understand, however, that owing to the superiority of our education to that of the heathen world, missions are in danger, to use the words of Rufus Anderson, that enlightened American Missionary Secretary, "of losing sight of the spiritual aims which are their sole *raison d'être* by the intermixture of too many views and methods of Western civilisation, of too much agricultural and textile training," etc.

Still, if it is the indubitable paternal duty of missions to render possible by domestic equipment and preparation of this kind an independent existence for thousands of famine orphans, missions have also a similar responsibility towards the otherwise mercilessly downtrodden outcastes who have come under their protection through baptism. But the spiritual character of their work, which is their sole source of strength, should never be lost sight of, and they ought ever to remember that all this kind of effort for the raising of the social standing of the people is for them only the means to an end, and not the end itself.

We shall not attempt to pass judgment on the native churches of India either from the point of view of the complaints and reproaches cast up against them by critics and opponents, or yet from that of the rightful estimate that should be taken of their religious and moral qualifications. The criticisms of opponents are the missionaries' crown of thorns. They know full well how many are the weak points in their work; they also know that just those native Christians with whom civil servants and globe-trotters come most into contact —the servants in European houses, the obtrusive Pariah parvenus in the large towns—may as often as not be described as the bastards, the prodigal sons, of missions. On the other hand, the conditions under which the various groups of native

Christians live are so diverse that a just verdict can only be passed upon them by carefully considering the pit from whence they were digged, as well as the environment in which they at present find themselves. We may perhaps be permitted to refer briefly to three points where missions, in spite of many isolated blunders, have attained brilliant results in the attempts on a large scale which they have made for the uplifting of the people.

Scarcely any mission has been so keenly criticised by both friend and foe alike as the work of the Church Missionary Society in the Krishnagar district. And in spite of all, the fact remains that the present, the third generation of Christians, has developed to such an extent in intelligence and general ability under the conscientious care of the missionaries that the restricted conditions of life which satisfied their ancestors no longer satisfy them, and a very considerable emigration to Calcutta and neighbourhood is constantly taking place. I was told in Krishnagar that half of all the Protestant Christians in the native churches of Calcutta were immigrants from Krishnagar, who are earning a comfortable livelihood. At Muirabad, the prosperous Christian village near Allahabad, I expressed astonishment at the evident tokens of the easy circumstances of its inhabitants, and I was told that the second and third generations of those Christians who had been brought up in mission orphanages almost invariably occupied respectable and lucrative positions in life; also that the bloodthirsty outbreak of the quarrelsome Maravas against the Shanans in Tinnevelly and Madura in the summer of 1899 had its real source in the prosperity and growing intelligence of the Shanans, who under the superintendence of the missionaries had made such immense progress both intellectually and economically. It is an encouraging sign that native Christians are themselves beginning by mutual insurance to protect themselves against poverty or sudden disaster. In the C.M.S. congregations at Madras there has existed since 1884 a "Madras Native Christian Provident Fund," with a capital of some 34,000 rupees, the 653 members of which assure by regular payments an annuity for themselves or those dependent upon them, or a sum payable at death; during the last twenty-one years over £4660 has been paid out of this fund to the widows and orphans of Christians. At Calcutta there is a Mutual Assurance Society for Christians with a considerably larger capital, connected with the Bhowanipur Mission of the London Missionary Society.

3. Native Agents

That foreign missionaries would have to train up and appoint a staff of native teachers as auxiliaries was patent even to the veterans of the Danish Mission, and they made several valuable essays in this direction. They had at that time no training college. Missionaries trained their agents *privatim*. Christian Friedrich Schwartz in particular showed both wisdom and great skill in work of this kind. Few, however, were allowed to proceed as far as ordination, and none but Sudras in any case. With the extension of missionary enterprise since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the need for numerous native agents has become more imperative. On this matter, however, there have been entertained the most varied opinions and the most conflicting views. In the early decades we find the tendency to employ as many converts as possible in missionary service; on the one hand, because the progress of missionary activity demanded an ever greater number of native helpers acquainted with the languages and customs of the country, and on the other, because those who owing to their conversion had been thrown out of their previous situations thus had created for them a new position which was both highly suitable and at the same time conducive to their intellectual development. Great pains were taken with their training, and several schools for catechists were established. In some of these a comprehensive syllabus was drawn up, Greek and Hebrew being taught as the original languages of the Bible, and the language generally chosen for the conveyance of instruction was English. But ordination and the comparatively independent position gained thereby was granted only with the greatest reluctance. In 1851, over against 493 catechists and preachers, there were under all the societies at work in India only twenty-one ordained native pastors! Towards the middle of the century, first in unattached missions, then gradually throughout the whole mission field, the view became prevalent that Indian Christendom ought to provide adequately for its own pastoral oversight, and that this ought to be so arranged as that the support of the preachers should impose no intolerable burden upon the native churches. Wherever this view prevailed the demands made of catechists with regard to education were modified: Greek and Latin as well as a number of dogmatic subjects were thrown overboard, instruction was given in the vernacular, and an attempt was made to preserve the catechists' sense of nationality as far as possible intact. Men trained on these lines were now ordained in large numbers, so that the native churches might be sufficiently

provided with pastors. But the missionaries' need for thoroughly trained assistants in their direct missionary work told heavily against this more simple method. The man who attempted a discussion with either a Hindu or a Muhammadan at a mela or in the bazaar was as good as done for if his intellectual equipment were not equal or superior to that of his adversary; and such an equipment means not only a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures but also an intimate acquaintance with the sacred literatures of his opponents, where possible in the original languages, and sufficient theological and dialectic training to measure his lance against their systems of religion. Further, it lay in the very nature of things that converts from high castes who had only found the Pearl of Great Price after long and sore conflict should themselves burn with desire to commend this great treasure to their fellow-countrymen; and that as educated men they not only possessed the ability to profit by, but likewise might equitably claim a thorough theological training. And the churches in the large towns, the members of which were ever increasing in intelligence and culture, needed pastors of sound and comprehensive education to enable them intellectually to vindicate their position in the midst of the heathendom which surged around them on every side. On the other hand, it was a serious matter to give too highly scientific a training to native agents. "Too far uplifted above the average intellectual plane of their fellow-countrymen, they began to lust after more cultured hearers than were to be found in the villages, and after higher salaries than could there be obtained. They were unwilling to be stationed as agents in obscure places, amongst an ignorant people of low caste, and only too often they would not suffer the missionary veterans to address to them either counsel or remonstrance. In some places, too, they fell before the temptation to engage in worldly occupations, and in this way became wholly lost to the mission." So writes Rufus Anderson. There were thus, as a matter of fact, many widely divergent views and motives regarding the development of the native pastorate, and we need not be surprised to find that this development has assumed the most varying forms in different parts of the mission field.

We will trace the development in one typical mission, that of the Church Missionary Society in the Madras Presidency; it is specially instructive as regards the variations that have occurred in this particular branch of work. The Church Missionary Society entered this sphere by taking over the work of the Danish Mission at Tinnevelly. The leaders of that mission, and in particular Schwartz, as we have already mentioned, had trained their assistants *privatim*, and had

ordained the best among them. With these helpers they had obtained on the whole satisfactory results; they were men of great spiritual acumen, men of zeal, circumspection, and spiritual energy. Something of the spirit of the Danish veterans had entered into them. But there were only a few of them, and it needed the personality of a missionary wholly devoted to his calling to exercise an influence of this kind upon the native assistants. When under Rhenius' energetic and competent direction the mass movement towards Christianity spread through hundreds of Shanan villages, a need was immediately felt for large numbers of native helpers, so that a pastor might be appointed to take charge of the churches and schools if possible in every village, but at any rate in every group of villages. This was only possible with the aid of training colleges; at Palamcottah, therefore, Rhenius, aided by his colleague B. Schmid, opened a seminary for catechists, and tenaciously maintained it in spite of all opposition presented by the caste spirit among a number of students living together in this manner. From this training college the high school system of Palamcottah was gradually developed, a high school, a boarding school, and separate training colleges for school teachers and for catechists; the intention was, on the one hand, to provide the teachers of the future with the rudiments of a good solid education; on the other, to give them direct preparation for their work in school and in the pulpit. Only the most approved among the catechists were admitted to ordination, and this was done reluctantly; down to the year 1849 but seven natives had been ordained on the entire field of the Church Missionary Society in India. When other fields of work at Madras, Travancore, and in Telugu Land were taken over in the Madras Presidency by the same Society, it was an easy matter to institute a uniform system of preparation for candidates for ordination. To this end a Theological Seminary was built at Madras in 1838, under the superintendence of Rev. Jos. H. Gray. Through this college all desirous of ordination had to pass; only the lower grades of elementary school teachers and village catechists were to be trained on the various mission stations. This centralisation was made all the easier by the fact that since 1835 Madras had been the seat of a bishopric, and that according to Anglican ideas any examination conferring a right to ordination must be conducted by a bishop, who alone may determine the subjects of examination. Thus it was both simple and convenient to carry on this seminary under the immediate supervision of the bishop. At a centre of city life the course was naturally a high one; English was the medium of instruction, and theological subjects were treated almost as

thoroughly as at theological colleges in the homeland. The want of European missionaries from which the Society at that time suffered also contributed to force on rapidly the task of ordaining native agents. Down to the year 1872, eighty-three natives had been ordained in the Indian field of the Church Missionary Society, the majority of these belonging to South India. There were at that time only 225 ordained native agents in the whole country. However, the centralisation of the work of training at Madras did not meet with success. It was not desirable that those clergy who were destined at a later period to dwell amidst the rudimentary surroundings of the solitudes of Tinnevelly should become accustomed, during a residence of several years, to the exaggerated conditions of English city life, and a ponderous equipment in English theology was found to be of little service to workers in the modest Shanan villages. The Theological Seminary in Madras was therefore closed, the Institution at Palamcottah was again opened as a seminary for catechists, and a similar foundation, the Cambridge Nicholson Institution, was erected at Cottayam for Travancore in the year 1860. It was at this time that the methed of training which seems to us most fitting for the simple requirements of the Shanan Mission was adopted. By this scheme the cleverest children in the village schools were passed on to the boarding schools at the various stations; those who distinguished themselves there were promoted either to the catechists' seminary or to that for school teachers, where after a given course of study they were sent out and located at various places in the district as assistants. If they stood the test of this practical service for a number of years, they were once more sent to college, this time to a final theological course, and when they had finished this, they were ordained. The entire course of training is in this instance given in Tamil. The Church Missionary Society has again recently been making efforts to raise its system of theological training to a higher level, partly because the churches in Madras, Masulipatam, and other large towns need a more highly trained pastorate, and partly because of the exalted ideas of ministerial status consequent upon the increasing ritualistic tendencies of the day. In addition, therefore, to the seminaries where instruction is given in the vernacular—at Cottayam in Malayalam, at Palamcottah in Tamil, and at Masulipatam in Telugu—the Society has deemed it necessary to open yet another Divinity School in Madras (1884), where advanced courses in English only are given to the most proficient amongst the native helpers.

In North India the Church Missionary Society contented

itself until about 1870 with giving its catechists private training at the hands of specially qualified missionaries. In 1868 Rev. J. Welland inaugurated a "Bengali Preparation Class" at Calcutta. It was not till ten years later, however, that Rev. W. Blackett, a thoroughly trained theologian, was sent out to found a "Divinity School" specially intended for candidates for ordination; this he did first at Krishnagar, and afterwards, in 1880, at Calcutta. In the Punjab Rev. T. V. French, one of the most brilliant Indian missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, founded a "Divinity School" of a very high status, and with obligatory instruction in Hebrew, at Lahore in 1869. As well as this Urdu Seminary, another "Divinity School" was opened at Allahabad in 1882 (by the gifted Dr. Hooper) for the United Provinces and for the Hindu section of the population, whilst at the same time a similar training college was erected at Poona for the whole of the work in the Bombay Presidency. Almost all these institutions have passed through similar vicissitudes to those in the Presidency of Madras.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in Ceylon (and here we refer to their Singhalese work; in the Tamil district around Jaffna the course of instruction varies in many particulars) accepts as candidates for ordination only those who have served for a number of years as evangelists, though these candidates may either have been engaged in business or have come directly from one of the educational colleges. A tolerably good English education and genuine piety, proved by a blameless life, are demanded of all seeking admission. A course lasting one year only in the Theological Institution at Richmond Hill (Galle) is prescribed, but the majority of the candidates remain there three years before being able to pass the leaving examination of the college. After this, they do not as a general rule enter the ministry at once, but are employed as catechists for a period varying from one to four years, and during this time they must pass a yearly Catechists' Examination. They then serve for at least four years as "ministers on probation," during which period they must in their leisure hours work through a prescribed theological course with certain prescribed books, and test their knowledge by an annual examination; should they fail, that particular year is not counted either in their ministerial record or in their salary scale. Only when they have passed these four annual examinations—that is, after four years at the very least—are they received as ministers in full connection.[1] As such they receive a higher salary, and are entitled to a seat and a vote in the Synods.

[1] *The Wesleyan Methodist Church. India and Ceylon.* Madras, 1899, pp. 107 *et seq.*

The Congregationalists connected with the Madura Mission (the American Board) send out catechists who have received some measure of elementary training to such villages as already contain a few Christians or applicants for baptism, and often enough these catechists are young men who have merely gone through the elementary or intermediate schools. If they meet with good success, and should their flocks desire to retain their services as permanent pastors, they proceed, for a shorter or longer period as the case may be, to the theological training college at Pasumalai. They are then tested by the missionaries as to their spiritual equipment, and if they pass through the ordeal successfully they are ordained for the spiritual service of the native Church which proposed them in the first instance.

The requirements and aims of the various societies differ so widely upon the subject of the training of native agents that repeated and thorough discussion at all the great missionary conferences has merely served to demonstrate the variety of methods employed and bring forward the arguments for and against each separate method. It is therefore unfortunately impossible to write a connected history of this important branch of missionary labour. A few general principles only have met with universal acceptance. For instance, nearly everywhere the distinction is made between a lower order of catechists and an ordained ministry; admission to this latter is invariably dependent upon service that has stood the test of years, and in most cases upon the completion of a course of higher theological instruction. Since fixed standards of education have been introduced, thanks to the Indian educational system, the view is very generally prevalent that all candidates for the position of catechist shall at least have passed through the lower secondary classes. Only in missions to the aborigines or with catechists whose work would be confined to wholly ignorant outcastes is there any inclination to accept such as possess nothing but an elementary education. For ordination the opinion is widely shared that the Indian matriculation examination should be taken as the standard of general education, and many societies have actually fixed it as such, or at any rate have pointed it out to their candidates as a desirable qualification. But no hard and fast rule can be made in the matter, as the consequence would be that applicants for ordination would be forced to remain continuously at school until they had passed this examination, and this would mean that the very desirable probationary period in the inferior position of a catechist would be lost or would have to be made up afterwards by a long period of service as curate or probationer. As long as various independent missionary organisations (particularly the Baptists) ordain

persons whose education is wholly defective, this will be looked upon as an abuse tending to degrade the ministerial office in the eyes of both Christians and heathen. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that particularly the English-trained town clergy, belonging as they frequently do to the third generation of Christian families, have been anglicised to a deplorable extent, and thereby estranged from their own people. The strict regulations of the Government educational system have brought about in almost every part of the country an entire separation between the schoolmasters of the country and the catechists and clergy; in spite of the appointment by the State of a paid body of teachers equipped with splendid certificates and testimonials, the clergy everywhere endeavour to maintain a certain superiority over them.

The conviction is generally held that a thorough course of training at some theological college is indispensable for every catechist. It is remarkable how slowly this idea has won for itself acceptance in missionary circles. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society has been working among the Tamils of Madras since the year 1817, in the Cauvery Delta since 1820, and at Bangalore amongst the Tamil immigrants of the Mysore since 1826; but not until the year 1899 did it open a training college at Guindy, near Madras, for the catechists and teachers engaged in its entire Tamil missions. It is characteristic, however, that when once a beginning had been made, the Kanarese Mission[1] of the Wesleyans and their young Telugu missions[2] at Medak were equipped at once (1899) with training colleges for catechists. The American Presbyterians in the United Provinces and the Punjab have also deferred for a remarkably long time the opening of a seminary. Although they have been working in both these provinces since 1835 and 1836 respectively, and although many distinguished missionaries have been found in their ranks, they did not, save for a few shortlived attempts, proceed to the erection of a training college for native helpers until 1885, when one was built at Saharanpur. German missionary societies have made a science of the training of their native agents. The Basle Missionary Society, and even more the Leipzig Missionary Society enjoy in South India the reputation, which is in our eyes thoroughly well deserved, of possessing a particularly well-trained staff of assistants.

Altogether, the missionary statistics for 1900 give a total of 893 ordained Indian pastors as against 5755 assistants and

[1] In conjunction with Hardwicke College in Mysore City, which was built in 1901.

[2] Founded in 1879.

catechists; of these pastors, 402 are found in the Presidency of Madras, 159 in Bengal, 188 in the United Provinces, and the remaining 144 are spread over the Punjab, Central India, the Central Provinces, Bombay, Gujarat, etc. These 900 odd Hindu clergy are the glory and the crown of Indian missions; amongst them are to be found a long list of men of the highest intellectual and spiritual gifts, who would have adorned any public office, and who would likewise have attained no slight distinction in the academic world. We shall content ourselves with naming W. T. Satthianadhan and Rajagopal in Madras, Krishna Mohan Banerjea, Lal Behari Day and Mathura Nath Bose in Bengal, Abdul Masih, Imad-ud-Din, K. C. Chatterjea, Jani Ali and Nehemiah Goreh in North India, Narayan Sheshadri, Hormazji Pestonji, Dhanjibhai Naoroji and V. B. Karmarkar in the Bombay Presidency. It says something for the importance of these native preachers when Professor S. Satthianadhan of Madras, in his attempt to collect biographies of the most distinguished Indian Christians, chooses in a total number of forty-two men and women, twenty-nine belonging to the native pastorate.[1] In our detailed History of Indian Missions we shall encounter these pillars of the Indian Church in every part of the mission field.

To get a glimpse of the degree of education possessed by the native staff of the various societies, we shall analyse that section of it belonging to South India. This section is composed of 10,551 missionary agents; of these 100 are graduates of universities, 250 have passed their first University examination (the First in Arts), 650 have passed the leaving examination, 2650 have passed through the lower secondary schools, and 6500 through the elementary schools; 406 of them are ordained pastors, 2775 assistants and catechists, 71 colporteurs, 786 Bible-women, and 6315 teachers in schools.

4. The Building up of the Christian Church of India

During the first half of the nineteenth century the native churches in connection with all the various missionary agencies were equally dependent on the missionaries and their respective societies. Missionaries were the preachers and pastors, the parents and counsellors of the Christians; even where they employed native assistants in the oversight of the churches, they were only the curates, so to speak, of the missionaries, who did that part of the work for which these latter had neither the

[1] *Sketches of Indian Christians.* Madras, 1896.

time nor the strength. That it was by no means an ideal arrangement to have Europeans as pastors over Indian congregations had as yet occurred to hardly a single missionary society, and such a state of things fitted in perfectly with the Mabap[1] system, which at that time was still universally prevalent.

When that well-known Secretary of the American Board, Dr. Rufus Anderson, and his friend Dr. Augustus Thompson, were on their important deputation tour to the Board's stations in India and Ceylon in 1854–1855, they were authorised to take in hand the reorganisation of the native churches. The views then held by the ablest experts on the mission field were well expressed by a missionary of the American Board (Harding) at the Allahabad Conference in 1872. "As to the condition of church membership, we suppose a spiritual union with Christ is the only and indispensable pre-requisite. There can be no Christian fellowship without fellowship with Christ, and unconverted men can add no strength to a church. If received, they must ever be a source of weakness to it. The rights and responsibilities of a church should be respected from the outset; they should be recognised as coming, not from the mission, but from Christ. These rights and responsibilities have respect to all the concerns of the church. The choice of the pastor and other officers—the support of the pastor and the decision with him of the amount of his salary—the discipline of the church—the erection and care of the place of worship—and efforts for the extension of Christ's kingdom. In most of these matters the missionary will aid the infant church by counsel and advice, and for a season, as agent of a foreign society, he will help to support the pastor, if need be; but only as supplementing what the church gives. It is very likely that churches thus thrown upon their own responsibilities will sometimes make mistakes, as they did in the first century. But if they have true allegiance to Christ, we ought to trust them. The apostles, after ordaining one or more elders in every church—taking, we suppose, the most suitable men available—did not hesitate to leave the churches to work out their own destiny under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Is it not safe to follow their example? Nor do we think it at all expedient for the missionaries to be combined with the converts of this country in their ecclesiastical organisations. Our work as evangelists and agents of foreign societies must be temporary in its nature, and by acting only in our own distinctive character as missionaries, we are able to render all necessary assistance, while we avoid many grave difficulties, and at the same time furnish the

[1] Cf. p. 411.

best opportunity for free and spontaneous action in the native church."[1]

But the Board was far-seeing enough to perceive that these views of the Churches at home could only be carried out on the mission field subject to certain modifications, and it was catholic enough to leave the form which these particular modifications of congregational principles should take in the hands of the missionaries on the field. In this manner a new and important element in Indian missions was evolved, namely, the conception of an Indian Church independent of assistance from the great foreign Society or Board. Anderson's views are happily expressed in three words: the native churches should be "self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating." These Congregationalist principles, which Anderson advocated with such skill, enthusiasm, and erudition, are in their essentials those accepted by the American Board, the London Missionary Society, and almost all the Baptist Missions in India—at any rate in theory, for in practice the missionaries have received a position of greater influence and more extensive power than the foregoing principles would have led one to expect. The tracing out of these modifications in detail, we must reserve for our detailed history of the several missions.

Anderson's ideas were also and quite independently agitating the mind of his great contemporary, Henry Venn, the greatest Missionary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and that at a time when the diminution of receipts and the lack of offers for missionary service were bringing before his Society the grave question of retrenchment on a large scale. Venn's ideas were briefly as follows: the ambition of every evangelical mission is its "Euthanasia," its development into an independent self-governing native church which has grown up under the fostering care of a missionary society from abroad and become competent to manage its own affairs. With this object in view, a clear distinction must be maintained between the evangelisation of the heathen and the pastoral oversight of the Christians. Strictly speaking, the first only is the duty of the missionary society. Every society ought therefore to limit itself as quickly and as consistently as possible to this its divine task. This being the case, Venn thought that the missionary society and its agents ought to confine themselves to those branches of activity which directly serve the proclamation of the gospel amongst the heathen, such as vernacular preaching, zenana work, medical missions, and so forth; they should, furthermore, retain the direction of the great institutions, the orphanages, the colleges, and the

[1] *Report of General Miss. Conf. at Allahabad*, pp. 288–290.

boarding schools, and the training colleges for preachers and teachers. All this unwieldy machinery ought not, in his opinion, to be laid on the weak shoulders of the Indian churches for a considerable time to come. On the other hand, the Christian congregations once gathered together ought to make themselves entirely responsible for their own pastors. The two most important obligations in this connection are (1) that the native church should learn to collect the funds for its own ecclesiastical needs,—the salary of its pastor and its teachers, the cost and maintenance of its church school, minister's house, schoolhouse, etc.,—and (2) the administration of these funds by trustworthy persons. In order to promote these two objects, Venn proposed the appointment in every pastorate of a "Church Committee," which was to be in the main a body for the collection of funds, though besides this it was to exercise all the duties of elders in the church. A larger or smaller number of pastorates and church committees were to be united in one large "Church Council," whose duties were the spending of all monies received, the payment of the salaries of church and school officials, the appointment of the same, the arrangements connected with all new buildings and repairs upon church property; in short, the direction of the entire ecclesiastical province presented by it. As supreme authority Venn wished to create a "Central Council," a kind of General Synod for the ecclesiastical administration of an immense area, whose powers were to be rather advisory than executive. The basis of the scheme was the "Church Councils," and on this account Venn's whole project has been termed the "Church Council System." Venn went to work slowly with the carrying out of these plans. He thought it was rash, and in fact impossible, to bring about so radical a change in church administration all at once; the native churches had not been trained to collect funds in this way, nor were they yet in a condition to spend such large sums faithfully and well. So long as the Missionary Boards rendered them financial assistance they must retain the right to nominate the chairmen of the Church Councils, and through them to control the executive and spending powers of those bodies. The obvious background of the scheme was of course the Anglican episcopal system, in which the spiritual direction of the church, the oversight and ordination of the clergy, church discipline, etc., were purely episcopal functions. Only with this background are Venn's gifted ideas feasible.

Venn imparted these plans to his Committee and to the missionaries of his Society in three great memoranda (those of 1851, 1861, and 1866), and then commenced rapidly to

introduce this Church Council system throughout the whole of the Indian mission stations of his Society—though we should note that it was confined almost solely to the Indian work of the Society. A new era for C.M.S. missions in India was thereby opened. This development has since become of such decisive importance that we must mention at any rate its leading features. Its first consequence was that on the older mission fields, particularly in Tinnevelly and Krishnagar, where there were consolidated Christian communities, the number of missionaries was perceptibly reduced. The system was introduced at Tinnevelly in the year 1869, and the country divided up into ten Church Councils. Instead, however, of placing a missionary in authority at the head of each of these, the older missionaries were allowed gradually to drift out of the work, whether owing to death or return to the home country, so that, ten years later, only one such missionary, Rev. Edward Sargent, was still in the district, and he meanwhile had been created a bishop. The entire ecclesiastical oversight of the Tinnevelly Mission was thus laid on one pair of shoulders.

This resulted in the ten District Councils being transformed into one great Church Council, having under it fifteen "Circle Committees" presided over by native clergymen. Ever since this great change the growth of the mission, up to that time the most successful in India belonging to the Church Missionary Society, has been practically at a standstill. This is probably not entirely due to the rapid withdrawal of the European missionaries, although that undoubtedly had a good deal to do with it. The fault lies not so much in Venn's plans as in the manner in which he applied them to Indian missions; he could easily have taken sufficient precautions by making the Church Council districts smaller, and by placing at the head of each of them a competent and experienced missionary.

Yet we cannot deny that there were dangers in Venn's scheme which were evolved slowly but surely, and which have since necessitated its revision. We shall only enumerate three of them. The sharp line drawn between pure evangelisation and pastoral work is quite untenable whilst the Christian community remains a tiny minority in the midst of an all-prevailing and all-surrounding heathenism. Under such circumstances it is far from healthy to concentrate the thoughts of the whole native church exclusively upon its own ecclesiastical interests. To do so cripples both their missionary spirit and their missionary power. Then, too, the separation of the missionaries from the native Christians is likewise unhealthy; according to Venn's ideas, the former (save that they occupied the chairman-

ship of the Church Council) were to have no official connection with the native churches, not even with the Christians who had been converted through their instrumentality, as soon as these latter had been baptized. The barrier erected by distinctions of race—which was already perceptible enough—was thereby considerably strengthened, and a separation of interests brought about in the very point where the most inward unity and harmony should have prevailed. In this connection we find our third criticism, that by this system the difference between the work and aims of the missionary society and those of the church it has brought into being is unnecessarily accentuated; hence the unwholesome view that the parent society has nothing to do with the native church nor the church with the society. Criticise, however, as we may, it must be admitted that Venn's ideas constitute the most brilliant original attempt to solve the problem of the building up of a native Christian church on a national basis, and also that the great groups of adherents of the Church Missionary Society in South India have made, comparatively speaking, far and away the greatest advance towards becoming self-supporting churches.[1] Other missionary societies have reproduced in their Indian work, with greater or smaller modifications, the ecclesiastical systems of the homeland. In some cases this has been accomplished by regarding the native communities as an ecclesiastical province of the parent church at home: this is the method adopted by the American Presbyterians, the Established Church of Scotland, and the Hermannsburg Missionary Society; or independent bodies or synods have been constituted in which the supreme powers are in the hands of the missionary society or missionary board: such are most of the German and German-American missions. The most complicated method of administration is that adopted by the Methodists, especially as exercised with great care by the American Episcopal Methodists in North India. The mission field is divided into circuits, at the head of each of which a preacher in charge is placed; a number of circuits compose a "district," with a presiding elder at its head. Yet again a number of districts form a church province presided over by a bishop, but matters are so arranged as to allow several

[1] A successful attempt to readapt Venn's Church Council system has recently been made in the Punjab Mission of the Church Missionary Society. By it all Christians united in membership with the Church Missionary Society, missionaries as well as natives, are united in one great body, at the head of which stands a Central Council; this Council is composed of deputies from the Missionary Committee at home, of members of the local corresponding committees, and of chosen representatives of the churches in the provinces. Beneath it are the District Councils, and for this purpose the Punjab Mission is divided into six districts. In every community there is a "Pastorate Committee" for conducting business of a purely local character (*Proceedings*, 1905, p. 228).

church provinces to be united under one bishop. In this intricate system, which is even more finely articulated than Venn's in its lower branches, European missionaries as such have no place, they may be preachers, or presiding elders, or bishops, but it may easily happen that as such they may be subordinate to natives. Such a system is calculated to attract native Christians to take a larger share in the work of the church.

Attempts to develop the native churches brought into being by missions form one of the characteristic features of Indian missionary effort, particularly since the year 1870 or thereabouts. It is a matter of the greatest interest to note what methods have been adopted in this direction by the various societies, and what degree of success they have met with up to the present time. But this is so individual an affair, and even when figures tabulating its results are available it becomes a matter to be only considered and pronounced judgment upon in connection with the internal working of each separate mission; we shall therefore be acting more wisely in postponing it to our detailed history of missions.

This we can say, that so far an independent Indian Church does not exist, nor can it do so until the great majority of the population in all the larger provinces of the country has come over to the side of Christianity, thereby rendering the principal part of the work of the missionary societies unnecessary. Even then the Missionary Board can only relinquish the work so far as to give to the Indian Church such freedom of action as may best enable it to make regulations calculated to secure its own development.

Efforts to establish one great uniform Protestant church in India have been not lacking; some of these plans have even gone so far as to ignore the missionary societies, others to totally disregard the points of difference both in doctrine and otherwise which exist between them. The educated Christians of the upper classes are the advocates of such schemes, and their inspired and eloquent protagonist was Kali Charan Banerjea, a distinguished, honoured, and truly earnest Christian, once chief executive officer of the University of Calcutta. He founded an association in Calcutta in 1870 which was to be the basis of a National Christian Church of Bengal. He desired to build up an organisation more in harmony with Oriental ideas and tastes: a bishop elected for life was to be placed at the head of it, but was to possess no greater authority than the Moderator of a Presbyterian Synod. The individual churches were to manage their own affairs. Great importance was attached to baptism by immersion. It was thus an attempt to unite in eclectic fashion the leading ideas of all the great missionary

societies. The name of the association was altered from time to time; now it was known as the Bengal Christian Association, now as the "Christo Samaj." A "Western India Native Christian Alliance" having the same objects in view was founded in Bombay in 1871. How intensely the question occupied the minds of Indian Christians was shown in December 1879, when the Synods of the Church Missionary Society and of the American Presbyterians met in Amritsar and Lahore respectively. At these Synods the native clergy frankly expressed the opinion that the difficulties which stand in the way of the establishment of a national church for India were caused solely by the missionaries. The native brethren of every denomination regarded themselves as one united body, since with regard to the central teaching of Christianity no difference of opinion was to be found amongst them. "Substantive Christianity and not adjective Christianity should alone be cultivated amongst us." "But because the European missionaries, from whom they had received the gospel and in dependence upon whom they now found themselves, were not united, the native Christians must perforce also remain apart." "We native Christians of the Punjab are neither Presbyterians nor Episcopalians, and we have hitherto, thank God, lived together in such loving union that we have scarcely perceived our connection with the various denominations." The question received special and enthusiastic attention at the General Missionary Conferences held at Allahabad in 1872 and Bombay in 1892, but without getting any farther than catching the echoes, so to speak, of music that was still a long way ahead. Since that time the movement has lost much of its importance. Quite recently a "National Church" has been established in Madras, but it has won no general recognition. Far more important in South India is the "Madras Native Christian Association" (founded in 1887), an inter-denominational body which aims at a practical support of all poor Christians, and a friendly interchange of ideas between the various sections of Indian Christendom.

In view of these attempts, it is remarkable that the various great groups of missionary societies, the Baptists, the Methodists, the Lutherans, etc., have hitherto made so few attempts to unite within their own immediate circles. This is all the more striking when we compare the successful efforts after ecclesiastical unity that have been made by the Christians of Japan. For Anglican Missions a form of organisation is already to hand in the Anglican State Church of India with its episcopacy; yet, in spite of good episcopal doctrine, it is evident how far from making for uniformity was this unwieldy system, which

after all had been created in the first instance for Europeans, in that for a long time there existed an earnest desire in C.M.S. circles to found a missionary episcopate for the native churches of India separate from, and in addition to, the State episcopate, and the European churches governed by it. This desire was expressed in an official memorial in the year 1877, and it is only quite recently that the impracticability of the project has been recognised. In March 1901 [1] the Church Missionary Society published an important memorandum in which it set forth, as the object of its missionary policy, a united Anglican Church for Englishmen and Indians as far as possible in the future under Indian bishops. Whether a closer union of the Anglican Church of India on the lines of this memorandum is being planned for the immediate future we are unable to say. In any case a national organisation corresponding to the Japanese Seikokwei is not contemplated.

The Presbyterians alone have made appreciable progress in these attempts at closer union. Since the year 1822 they have with patient perseverance and varying success followed the plan of unifying all Presbyterian missions and native churches gathered around them. For twenty years past a Presbyterian Alliance has assembled from time to time with the sole object of furthering this scheme. The decision come to in 1882 to found a great central theological seminary at Allahabad as a bond of union for all the thirteen Presbyterian societies was not carried out. In January, 1901, a congress of delegates was held in Allahabad which materially aided the work of unification. In October of the same year the missionaries of the United Free Church and of the American Reformed Arcot Mission banded themselves together at Vellore under the designation of the United South Indian Church. Terminal negotiations were then carried through in North India: on December 19th, 1904, the Presbyterian Church of India came into existence, and held its first General Synod at Allahabad. Thus there is now intimate communion between the native Christians gathered in by eight Presbyterian missionary societies.[2] What position in or with regard to this ecclesiastical fellowship the missionaries ought to take up has not yet been determined, and is for the present left optional to each missionary society.

The missions belonging to Lutheran denominations, parti-

[1] Cf. *Intelligencer*, 1901, pp. 241–270.

[2] "The United Free Church of Scotland, the Established Church of Scotland, the English, Irish, Canadian, American Presbyterians, and the American Reformed Church, and the Welsh Calvinists. The American 'United Presbyterians,' the Scotch 'Original Secession,' and a few smaller Presbyterian missions have not yet signified their adhesion to it."

cularly those in South India, are preparing the way for closer relationships. In the summer of 1905, an "All India Lutheran Conference" sat for the first time at Kodaikanal, a health resort on the Palni Mountains, which has proved, at any rate in several directions, a means of *rapprochement*—such as, for instance, in founding a Lutheran Literature Society and the publication of a common Lutheran organ, the *Gospel Witness*.[1]

The Congregational Missions in South India (the London Missionary Society and the American Board) also signified their assent, at Madura in 1905, to a uniform, if somewhat loose, church federation, which was to include all the native churches of both Societies in the Tamil country, Travancore, and North Ceylon.

In the year 1905, a plan originated by the native Christians of South India and warmly supported by the missionaries of the various Societies was conceived: a vast and purely Indian Missionary Society was to be formed for the evangelisation of these masses of the people not yet touched by the different missionary organisations. The National Missionary Society is the outcome of these proposals; it has begun work in the Punjab. As by far the greater number of native Christians have hitherto shown a deplorable lack of interest in active missionary work, every step in this direction ought to be recorded with satisfaction, even though for the present we may have our doubts concerning the feasibility of their far-reaching proposal.[2]

[1] Edited by Dr. Wolf of Guntur.

[2] Cf. *Intelligencer*, 1905, p. 920.

APPENDIX

A. (Introduction, p. 12)

THERE are two sciences which have largely contributed to clear up the question of the origin and mutual relationship of the peoples of India: during the greater part of the nineteenth century, comparative philology, and, in quite recent years, anthropology. The last-named claims to have found a sure test of the relationship between the various races in the comparative measuring of those parts of the body which largely remain unchanged (anthropometry). In this science three proportions are mainly called in question—the proportion borne by the length of the head to its breadth, the proportion borne by the length of the nose to its breadth, and the angle formed by a line between two corresponding points on the upper eyelids and the root of the nose. For brevity's sake the length of the head, that of the nose, and the line joining the eyes are considered as 100, and the two widths and the angle formed by the eyes as proportions of this number; for instance, in one head the length is to the breadth as 100 : 87. This proportion is then termed the "index" of the head, *i.e.*, in the case just considered the index is 87. According to the index of length of head, therefore, men are divided into "long-headed" (index under 75), "medium-headed" (index 75–80), and "broad-headed" (index over 80); or, scientifically speaking, into dolicho-cephales, meso-cephales, and brachy-cephales. Similarly, according to the proportion of the length to the breadth of their noses, men are divided into "narrow-nosed" (index under 70), "medium-nosed" (index 70–85), and "broad-nosed" (index over 85); the scientific expressions are leptorrhines, mesorrhines, and platyrrhines. The angle between the eyes and the nasal bone is only of importance amongst Mongolian races, who have what is called "oblique" vision. This remarkable phenomenon of "slit" eyes is in no way due to the eyes of Mongols being differently placed to our own—as a matter of fact they are not; the reason is that in all such peoples the root of the nose is remarkably depressed, with the consequence that in the angle named above (which is always an obtuse angle) the two sides are together larger than the base line. For instance, if we take 100 as the length of this base line, the entire length of the two sides (which is the index of the angle) is over 100, and we are able to distinguish between "flat-eyed" (index under 110), "medium-eyed" (index 110–113), and "projecting-eyed" (index above 113); or to give them their correct

names, platyopic, mesopic, and pro-opic faces. In the text we have contented ourselves with the German terms, and have only given the index number enclosed in brackets in extraordinary cases. Formerly it was the custom to attach chief importance to bodily size, and to differentiate between big men (over 5·57 ft.), over average (5·41 ft.–5·57 ft.), under average (5·25 ft.–5·41 ft.), and small men (under 5·25 ft.); emphasis was also laid on the colour of the skin, on the hair and beard, on the length of the fore-arm, and so on. But it has latterly been proved that most of these indications are dependent on chance causes, such as food, climate, state of health, clothing, etc., and that even in the case of closely related tribes or castes they are by no means constant.

B. (Chap. I. p. 28)

Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 10: ὧν εἷς γενόμενος καὶ ὁ Πάνταινος καὶ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἐλθεῖν λέγεται, ἔνθα λόγος εὑρεῖν αὐτὸν τροφθάσαν τὴν αὐτὸν παρουσίαν τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον παρά τισιν αὐτόθι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνωκόσιν, οἷς βαρθολομαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἕνα κηρῦξαι, αὐτοῖς τε Ἑβραίων γράμμασι τὴν τοῦ Ματθαίου καταλεῖψαι γραφήν.

C. (Chap. I. p. 29)

Epist. lxx. ad magnum oratorem: "Pantænus ob præcipuæ eruditionis gloriam a Demetrio missus est in Indiam, ut Christum apud Brachmanas et illius gentis philosophos prædicaret." We only wonder what use Indian Christians could possibly make of a Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew!

D. (Chap. I. p. 30)

Philostorg., iii. 5: κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν ἄλλην ἀφίκετο Ἰνδικὴν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐαγὸς δρωμένων ἐπανωρθώσατο. Καὶ γὰρ καθεζόμενοι τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἀκρόασιν καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ὧν μὴ θεῖος θεσμὸς ἐπεστάτει διέπραττον τὸ ἀλλὰ ταῦθ' ἕκαστα πρὸς τὸ σεβάσμιον αὐτοῖς δε θεοφιλὲς μεταρυθμίσας, τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δόγμα ἐκρατύνετο οὐ γὰρ ἐδέοντό φησιν ὁ δυσσεβὴς οὗτος, τῆς τὸ θεῖον σέβας διορθούσης ὑφηγήσεως ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπαρατρώτως τὸ ἑτεροούσιον πρεσβευόμενοι. The *Philostorgius Fragmenta* were preserved by Photius, who saw in Philostorgius a great heretic, and who always introduced citations from him, therefore, with "Thus saith this heretic," and similar formulæ.

E. (Chap. I. p. 31)

It is possible, however, that this entire tradition of Syrian immigration from Mesopotamia is erroneous. Any absolutely reliable information supplied by succeeding centuries points to Persia as the fountainhead of Indian Christianity; and in Persia at that time the Syrian Church (the monophysitic branch of it), its language, usages, and ecclesiastical discipline were all-powerful; the seat of the Patriarchate,

however, was Antioch. Only after the destruction of the Christian Church in Persia can the ecclesiastical headquarters of the Indian Church have been translated to Mesopotamia. Furthermore, the immigration of Thomas Kanna and his companions is stated, in other native sources of information, to have been much later, about 820.

F. (Chap. I. p. 34)

We give the main paragraph of this highly interesting document—the translation is Dr. Gundert's: "Hari Sri. Ganapati be adored. So soon as the sacred sway of the Lord of Earth, the Master of Men, Chakravarti Vira Kerala had passed in regular succession to Sri Vira Raghava Chakravarti, whose sceptre now settles the destiny of many hundreds of thousands of cities, . . . the following gracious appointment was made in the Royal Palace. We have presented the lordship of Manigramam to Iravi Korttan of Mahodeverpattanam (Kranganur), who is henceforward to be styled 'Great Merchant of the Kerala World.' We have likewise accorded him the right to receive vestments (?), house pillars (?), income, the curved sword, and with it sovereign control over trade and commerce, the right to have heralds and forerunners, the right to make use of the five instruments of music, to conches and torches; also the privilege of having garments strewn before him; we have granted him the use of the palanquin, the royal umbrella, the drum from the north country; the privilege of a gateway with seats and ornamental arches, the sovereign lordship over the four estates, likewise over the oil manufacturers and the five classes of artisans. We have given as a perpetual possession of Iravi Korttan, Lord of the City, rights of brokerage and the customary tribute of all that is contained in the para, weighed with the scales, measured with the tape, and of all that shall be sold or worn or stored, whether it be sugar or salt, nutmeg or oil, or whatever else it may be, between the estuary of Kodungalur (Kranganur) and the Tower, or within the four Talis and the towns belonging thereto. We have granted it as an unconditional fief to Iravi Korttan, the Great Merchant of the Kerala World, and his sons and sons' sons in direct succession for ever." . . .

G. (Chap. I. p. 38)

Several references have already been made in the text to Dr. W. Germann's *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der orientalischen Kirchen* (C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, pp. 781). This is a book of reference based on extensive studies of original sources; the only objection one can raise against it is that scientific details are frequently too much in evidence, and the main argument is thereby overladen. Even when we are unable to accept Germann's conclusions, he yet manages to place the whole of the materials we have to go upon in such detail and in so objective a fashion before us that we are well able to form an independent opinion upon the matter in question.

In connection with the present section of this history, and concern-

ing early Romish Missions in India, reference should be made to a series of articles by Kunstmann: "Die Missionen in Indien und China im 14 und 15 Jahrhundert" (*Historischpolitische Blätter*, 1856, vol. i.), and to Germann's article on "Indien und die abendländische Kirche im Mittelalter" (*Allgem. Miss. Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 350 *et seq.*). A model record of Roman Catholic missionary history from 1498–1744 is that of Maxim. Müllbauer, *Geschichte der katholischen Missionen in Ostindien von der Zeit Vasco da Gama's bis zur Mitte des* 18 *Jahrhunderts*" (Freiburg, 1852, p. 372). This work, which was crowned by the Roman Catholic Theological Faculty at Munich, is based on a wide knowledge of original documents, and is written with remarkable restraint. Certainly the author openly attempts, *e.g.*, to excuse even a man like Nobili to the uttermost limits of admissibility; nevertheless he exercises at times a criticism that is very just. The traditions concerning the labours of the Apostle Thomas are bluntly labelled as "fairy tales composed by native Christians" (p. 12). Xavier's work is dismissed in ten pages (61–71), certainly not without prejudice; and he refers to the so-called "miracles" of that saint (p. 67) without any attempt at criticism, and unfortunately would seem never himself to have read Xavier's letters. The most valuable sections of the book, which, particularly in its early chapters, is now considerably out of date, commence at p. 71.

Our description of Xavier's labours is largely based on Rev. H. Venn's biography, as rendered into German by Dr. Hoffmann, *Franz Xavier, ein weltgeschichtliches Missionsbild* (Wiesbaden, 1869, p. 418). Neither the first section, "The Progress of Missions before Xavier's Time," pp. 1–115, nor the third, "Christian Missions since Xavier," pp. 261–418, are of permanent value; but the intermediate portion, "Francisco Xavier's Life and Work," pp. 116–260, is remarkable for its accuracy, conscientious research, and evangelical charity. To obtain a real knowledge of the times, however, it is absolutely necessary to read for oneself Xavier's "Letters." The edition we have used is that published at Ratisbon in 1877, 2 vols. For the sake of accuracy we may mention that the story of the crucifix at Baranula is there found in vol. i., p. 315, and that of raising the dead in vol. i., p. 161. Comparison should here be made with Xavier's letter of May 23rd, 1543 (vol. i., p. 104). Xavier was praying for a woman in travail; by means of an interpreter he explained to her the most important articles of faith (!!), and "by God's grace the woman believed all I declared to her." In the meantime (!) the woman brought forth a child—and was immediately baptized with her whole house.

For Xavier's ignorance of the vernacular see vol. i., p. 169, and compare therewith the letter on p. 154—which may consist merely of extracts made by another hand. At that time, according to the name given at the foot of the letter, Xavier was at Punical, *i.e.* in the very midst of the Parava Christians, and the language alluded to can only mean the Tamil spoken in that region. The brief animadversion upon the translation of "I believe" in the Creed (vol. i. pp. 141–144) has, however, very little to do with the matter, and only proves that his

colleague (at that time the only one), Mansilla, was an even worse linguist than Xavier (cf. especially p. 109). In the letter on p. 108 of vol. i., Xavier expresses himself on the subject of his missionary methods as on p. 49 of the present volume: this highly characteristic letter ought to be printed *in extenso*, but the quotation from Venn contains a summary of it. For the letter to Loyola mentioned on p. 52 of this book, cf. Venn, p. 385 *et seq.*, especially p. 385: "On account of their deplorable vices, the natives are little suited for Christianity. So greatly do they hate it that the mere mention of it is enough to throw them into a passion. They are as afraid of being exhorted to embrace Christianity as they are of death." The letter of January 20th, 1548, to King João III. will be found in vol. i. pp. 330–338. For a critical estimate of Francisco Xavier and Robert de Nobili, the brilliant articles of Dr. Hermann Gundert in the *Evang. Missionary Magazine*, 1868, pp. 34 and 49, will be of interest. They are written by one well acquainted with the Tamils and Tamil missions. Compare in the same magazine the article on "Joseph Beschi," p. 97 *et seq.*

H. (Chap. I. p. 39)

"Intravi in Indiam et fui in contrada Indiæ ad ecclesiam sancti Thomæ Apostoli mensibus XIII. et ibi baptizavi circa centum personas in diversis locis et socius fuit meæ vitæ frater Nicolaus de Pistorio de ordine fratrum prædicatorum."

I. (Chap. I. p. 41)

"Hi sunt qui nos accusant, nos percutiunt, nos in carcerem poni faciunt et lapidant; sicut de facto probavi et quater per eos (sc. Sarracenos) incarceratus fui. Quotiens autem depilatus, verberatus, et lapidatus, Deus ipse novit, et ego, qui sustinui (peccatis meis exigentibus) eo quod nondum potui vitam pro fide sustinendo martyrium finire sicut fecerunt quatuor socii mei. De cætero, de me fiat voluntas Dei. Quinque etiam Prædicatores et quatuor Minores fuerunt illuc, meo tempore, pro fide catholica crudeliter trucidati. Væ mihi, quod non fui una cum eis ibi."

The names, too, and frontiers and relative conditions of dependency amongst these little states have been altered and cannot be ascertained. The names we have quoted in the text are those which recur most frequently in history, although, strangely enough, most of them are omitted from the long official list of principalities. Cf. Germann, p. 588.

J. (Chap. I. p. 44)

As early as 1453 King Alfonso v. of Portugal had conferred on the Order of Christ the *jurisdictio spiritualis* over all territories from Cape "Bojador usque ad Indos, qui Christi nomen colere dicuntur," and this action had been expressly confirmed by Pope Nicolas v. in 1454, by

his successor, Calixtus III., in 1455, and by others. Now after 1522 the King of Portugal was also Grand Master of the Order of Christ, and to him therefore belonged, according to these Bulls, rights of patronage over all India.

K. (Chap. II. p. 96)

There is abundance of literature concerning this all-important epoch. Some of the most valuable portions of it are Dr. W. Germann's large biographies of the old Danish missionaries: *Johann Philipp Fabricius*, 1865; *Ziegenbalg und Plütschau*, in two sections, 1868; *Christian Friedrich Schwartz*, 1870. There are also appreciative sketches of these honoured veterans in the *Evang. Missionary Magazine* for 1868. Other works are Fenger's *History of the Tranquebar Mission* (in Danish), and Rev. A. Westcott, *Our Oldest Mission* (*Madras—described from an Anglican standpoint*).

L. (Chap. II. p. 107)

Ziegenbalg's other writings are: *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, an index of 150 works belonging to Tamil literature; and *Die ausführliche Beschreibung des malaburischen Heidentums*. In the eighteenth century all South Indians were erroneously termed Malabarese, as were also the Tamils.

M. (Chap. III. p. 151)

It used to be supposed that this strong language was quoted from an official resolution of the Company. It was Henry Morris who, with praiseworthy diligence, proved (in the London *Christian*) that the words were actually spoken at an assembly of the General Court held at the East India House on May 23rd, 1793, in connection with the Charter negotiations (cf. *Free Church Record*, 1903, p. 508).

N. (Chap. VII. p. 408)

How is this difference of figures to be accounted for? To answer this question we shall be obliged to go into some detail and to consider the missionary provinces of India one by one. We may at the same time use the opportunity for giving as accurate a survey as possible of the distribution of evangelical Christendom throughout the whole of the Indian mission field:—

TABLE A

	Decennial Missionary Conference Statistics.		Government Census.[1]		Dr. Grundemann.[2]
	(1890).	1900.	(1890).	1900.	1898.
Assam . . .	(15,278)	20,939	(9,581)	29,343	36,109
Bengal . . .	(108,901)	123,609	(62,798)	133,447	123,749
United Provinces .	(30,321)	108,990	(18,777)	60,716	90,835
Punjab[3] . . .	(20,729)	36,584	(14,419)	20,385	34,282
Rajputana . . .	(1,683)	3,972	(1,127)	2,525	2,132
Bombay (with Baroda)	(22,455)	30,649	(5,343)	40,838	23,272
Central India[4] . .	(9,660)	23,380	(1,381)	16,749	7,394
Madras Presidency[5] .	(365,912)	506,019	(348,979)[6]	522,009	447,874
	(559,661)	854,867	(462,403)	826,012	776,562
	...	...	(566,154)	(825,466)	...

[1] These two columns must be used with caution: they omit the minor denominations; and although these, when taken incidentally, may represent nothing but insignificant stations, yet over 100,000 souls are lacking in the sum total (1890) without our being able to find out what has become of them. The more exact totals of the census tables are therefore placed at the foot of the table in brackets.

[2] Dr. Grundemann arranges his figures according to a different geographical system; his headings do not always precisely tally with those taken above.

[3] The Punjab, with the frontier provinces.

[4] Central India, Central Provinces, Berar, and Hyderabad.

[5] Madras, Mysore, Cochin, and Travancore.

[6] Here we have supplemented the number of Protestant Christians by 72,635 (a number arrived at by means of the Decennial Tables) for the two states of Travancore and Cochin, which are omitted in those Governmental Returns to which we have access.

As will be seen, the difference is considerable. Whereas in one group of figures the Government Census records 44,421 Protestant Christians more than the Missionary Tables, in other districts it gives 72,549 more; thus whilst the totals seem to present a difference of only 28,155, in reality that difference is 116,970, or more than one-eighth of the entire sum total. Only in the detailed history of the various districts can we examine these diverging figures and, partially at any rate, explain them. We must, however, rest content with the assertion that absolutely reliable figures concerning the sum total of Protestant Christians in India are unobtainable. We should not even be able to

ascertain it by limiting ourselves to the numbers of communicants, since in that case we should lose the assistance furnished by the census returns; and further, the word "communicant" bears a very different meaning among, for example, the Episcopal Methodists in the United Provinces and the agents of the American Board in the Madura district.

The members of Protestant mission churches, however, compose only the lesser section of Indian Christendom. This latter numbers, according to the Government Census of 1901, 2,923,241 souls, or about 1 per cent. (0·99 per cent.) of the entire population of India. It is distributed over the various provinces as follows (for the sake of comparison, we give the corresponding census figures for 1881 and 1891, and also the number of Protestant Christians):—

TABLE B

	1881.	1891.	1901.	Of these, the Government Census for 1901 gives as Protestant Christians—
Assam	7,093	16,844	35,969	29,343
Bengal	128,135	192,484	278,366	133,447
United Provinces . .	47,673	58,518	102,955	60,716
Punjab and Frontier Provinces . .	33,699	57,135	76,312	20,385
Rajputana . . .	3,519	4,548	6,552	2,525
Bombay Presidency .	145,925	170,655	227,778	40,838
Central India . .	20,373	20,666	36,080	16,749
Madras Presidency .	1,391,998	1,642,618	2,011,404	522,009
Burma	84,219	111,982	133,619	80,224

This body of Christians, apart from the members of Protestant mission churches, is made up of English people and Eurasians, of the members of Roman Catholic mission churches, and of the Syrian Church in Travancore. We give the figures of each community in parallel columns for purposes of comparison:—

TABLE C

There live in—	Beside Protestant Christians to the number of—	Other Christians to the number of—	Of whom the Europeans are as under—	And the Eurasians—
Assam	29,343	6,626	2,099	275
Bengal	133,487	144,919	27,489	20,893
United Provinces	60,716	42,239	14,773	13,151
Punjab and Frontier Provinces	20,385	55,927	34,527	5,377
Rajputana	2,525	4,027	1,928	844
Bombay Presidency	40,838	186,940	31,970	6,946
Central India	16,749	59,076	13,420	6,469
Madras Presidency	522,009	1,463,018	18,369	35,549
Burma	80,224	53,395	9,885	8,449
Total for British India (excluding Ceylon)	825,466	2,016,167	169,677	87,030

In this connection, we may add: (1) that these figures are taken from the Government Census returns for 1901, and are therefore to be accepted as possessing only the relative reliability of that census; (2) that they are limited to British India, its protected states and annexes. The small French and Spanish colonies can point to large numbers of Roman Catholic Christians, but without exception they lie outside the sphere of Protestant missions, and occupy, therefore, no place in the statistics of such missions.

It is interesting to compare the sum totals of the results of Protestant missions from the point of view of the principal home churches which send out missionaries. We may classify these as Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, Lutherans (German, Scandinavian, and American Lutherans), and lesser denominations. As basis of the following table we have taken not the figures given in the Government Census, but those found in the Decennial Missionary Conference Statistics:—

TABLE D

Province.	Total No. of Protestant Christians in India.	Of whom there are—						
		Anglicans.	Presbyterians.	Baptists.	Methodists.	Congregationalists.	Lutherans.	Lesser Denominations.
Assam . . .	20,939	2,225	39	9,972	8,703	...	...	...
Bengal . .	123,609	32,762	5,477	19,716	3,775	2,243	47,278	12,933
United Provinces .	108,990	6,007	3,988	438	97,725	762	...	70
Punjab . .	36,584	9,921	22,242	1,585	2,064	...	171	1,630
Rajputana . .	3,972	168	1,444	...	2,360	...	...	...
Bombay . .	30,649	7,426	4,993	...	5,737	8,925	7,649	1,654
Central India .	23,380	3,446	4,188	495	8,289	...	4,291	2,871
Madras Presidency	506,019	154,567	14,444	177,726	9,525	96,048	48,539	320
Burma . . .	124,069	9,385	...	113,787	618	...	279	...
Total .	978,936	225,907	57,315	323,719	138,796	107,978	108,207	19,478

Thus the Baptists are, numerically speaking, by far the strongest group, with 324,000, and that mainly because of their two dense masses of adherents in the Nellore district and in Burma. The second strongest group are the Anglicans with 226,000; then follow in descending order the Methodists, with 139,000, and the Lutherans and Congregationalists with 108,000 each; then, but only after a great gap, come the Presbyterians with 57,000. The lesser denominations—not connected with these larger groups, or dependent upon them, as the case may be—stand for what is only an unimportant numerical success. Amongst these lesser groups, whose lines of demarcation are often hazy, we have reckoned the following:—

The American Women's Union Missionary Society	with	150	Christian	adherents.
The Gopalganj Bengal Evangelical Mission .	,,	250	,,	,,
The Indian Home Mission	,,	11,030	,,	,,
The Bethel Santal Mission	,,	1,503	,,	,,
The Christian Women's Mission in the North-West Province	,,	75	,,	,,
The Salvation Army[1]	,,	1,630	,,	,,
The Dunker Baptists in Gujarat	,,	102	,,	,,
The Christian Alliance Mission	,,	1,629	,,	,,

[1] But cf. p. 449.

The Kurku and Central Indian Hill Tribes Mission . with 57 Christian adherents.
The Poona and Indian Village Mission . . . . ,, 50 ,, ,,
The Indigenous Mission, Ahmadnagar . . . . ,, 327 ,, ,,
The Pentecostal Mission . . . . ,, 100 ,, ,,
The Friends' (Quaker) Mission . . . . . ,, 1950 ,, ,,
The American Mennonite Mission . . . . . ,, 150 ,, ,,
The Balaghat Mission . . . . ,, 160 ,, ,,
The Kollegal Mission . . . . ,, 129 ,, ,,
Ceylon and South India General Mission . . . . ,, 191 ,, ,,

and many small and even tiny missions, which do not even find a place in the Decennial Missionary Conference Statistics.[1]

But our joy on reading these figures, which have only been compiled as a result of laborious calculation, is damped when we look at Table IV in the Government Census (1901, p. 399). In spite of many obvious errors, this table is too important, and we are too frequently obliged to fall back upon it, to leave it out here.

TABLE E

Province.	Total No. of Protestant Christians in India.	Of whom there are—					
		Anglicans.	Presbyterians.	Baptists.	Methodists.	Congregationalists.	Lutherans.
Assam . . .	29,343	1,840	16,080	9,969	4	27	1,423
Bengal . . .	133,447	35,599	3,663	20,307	2,566	1,918	69,394
United Provinces .	60,716	7,100	2,179	243	50,629	500	65
Punjab and Frontier States . .	20,385	15,218	4,151	466	550	...	...
Rajputana . .	2,525	138	557	45	269	...	...
Bombay Presidency .	40,838	22,399	4,944	28	3,606	9,019	782
Central India . .	16,749	5,072	2,230	1,296	3,579	286	3,986
Madras Presidency .	522,009	284,911	8,550	118,911	6,247	25,572	77,806
Burma . . .	80,224	13,432	16	65,755	798	...	223
For the whole of India, plus Burma	825,466	305,917	43,064	216,915	68,489	37,322	153,768

[1] As we have no more recent statistical tables for the whole of India than those of the years 1900–1901, the figures for these small missions have been taken from those tables. Were we to make use of newer statistics, we should have no possible means of general comparison.

We will now compare the main items on this table with the corresponding ones taken from the Decennial Statistics on the previous page.

Assam.—In Table D the Welsh Calvinists are included with the Methodists; in Table E, at their own desire, with the Presbyterians. Table D overlooks the Assamese branch of the Gossner Mission, whilst Table E includes 1423 Lutherans belonging thereto. Whereas in every other case Table D includes in the Christian community candidates for baptism and adherents, by some mistake the entries for Chota Nagpur only take account of baptized converts; the numbers in Table E, therefore, come nearer the truth.

United Provinces.—The most remarkable and most perplexing difference between the two tables concerns the number of Methodists in this district—which is given in Table D as 97,725 and in Table E as only 50,629, a difference of more than 47,000 Christians. Even the census-taker was struck by this difference, and he explains it by saying that a large number of relapses to heathenism had taken place, and that more than one-third of those given as Christians in the missionary statistics had declared themselves to be heathen. But this explanation is highly improbable.

Punjab.—The number of the Presbyterians in Table E (4151) is clearly far too small, and the number in Table D (22,242) will come near the truth.

Bombay.—The number of Anglicans (22,399) is much too high; it is easily accounted for by the fact that 6991 Anglicans are entered at Baroda, a place where the Anglicans have no work at all worth mentioning.

Madras Presidency.—The Anglicans are again credited with far too large a number in Table E—284,911; in Table D the number given is 154,567. The error is partly accounted for by the fact that for Travancore 78,217 Anglicans are enrolled and only 10 Congregationalists; whereas 35,515 Anglicans and 63,152 Congregationalists have been counted in the calculations upon which Table D is based. There exists apparently a tendency amongst the census officials in South India, and perhaps also amongst the Christians themselves, to reckon as many as possible the adherents of the State Church of India. The figures for the Baptists in Madras and Burma are likewise confusing: in Table D they are given as 177,776 and 113,787 respectively, as against 118,911 and 65,755 in Table E. In the basal calculations for Table D only 71,392 and 37,927 are mentioned. In the introductory remarks to the Decennial Statistics (p. 111) it is pointed out that these numbers include communicants only, and in the sum totals they have been tripled, following the customary method of calculating probability in India, which, strangely enough, only works out in the Madras Presidency to the figures for the Nellore district and leaves out those for the out-districts of the Telugu Mission. Thus the numbers given in Table D are rather arbitrary. The Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Society for the year ending December 31st, 1900, gives for the Madras Presidency 120,553 Christians, and for Burma 118,959.

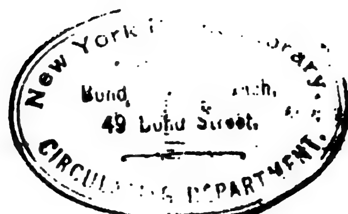
Thus the first total agrees fairly exactly with that given in Table E, and we must perforce conclude that the number recorded in Table D (177,726) has been overestimated by 57,000! On the other hand, the total for Burma in Table E (65,755) is at least 50,000 short! It is discouraging to find that what are, relatively, the most reliable statistics at our disposal, do not help to account for such great differences. Table D reckons 96,048 Congregationalists in Madras, Table E only 25,572; the latter number is incorrect. The leading missionaries of this section instructed the members of their flock to return themselves simply as Christians, without making use of any particular or denominational nomenclature; many thousands of Congregationalists, therefore, are to be found among the 101,926 classed as "denomination not returned." On the other hand, when Table D only returns 48,539 Lutherans, as against 77,806 in Table E, it is the latter which is correct. In the basal statistics for Table D the General Council Mission of the American Lutherans, for instance, with its 6159 baptized adherents, or a Christian community of some 10,000 (*vide* Report, 1900), is overlooked; and in the south the adherents of the Leipzig, Danish, and Missouri Societies are given as only about 19,000, whereas, as a matter of fact, those of the Leipzig Society alone (December 1900) number 20,819. After these criticisms it will not excite surprise that the totals given, especially those in Table E, attain no very high degree of probability. The Anglican figures are far too high, whilst those for the Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Methodists are far too low. Only in the case of the Lutherans are the sum totals arrived at in Table E to be preferred to those of Table D.

We neglected to enumerate in Table E those classified in the Census returns as: indefinite beliefs, 1334; denomination not returned, 101,920; minor denominations, 21,815; Salvation Army, 18,847; and Quakers, 1275—a total of 143,857. For the Salvation Army the Missionary Statistics give a total for the Punjab only of 1630; we read, however, in the Census Report (p. 391, § 682) that the Salvation Army in the Kaira district (Bombay) has some 11,000 adherents, and in Travancore (*Intelligencer*, 1902, p. 748) 5290. The Census Report would thus appear to be correct. A remarkable conglomeration appears under the Census heading, "Lesser Denominations" (amongst the 21,815 here set down, some 10,321 are of the "London Mission" and ought therefore to be numbered among the Congregationalists). In this list we find "Christians," "Converted Hindus," Dent (or Kent?) Christians, the Church of Christ (Weinbrennerians at Calcutta), the Disciples of Christ (at Chhattisgarh, Central India), the Union Brothers (3482 are returned), the Evangelists (1966 returned), "Undenominational," "Unsectarian," "Nonconformists," Dissenters, Plymouth Brethren, Adventists, Second Adventists, the Milton Church, the New Jerusalem Church, the National Church, the Pollelin Mission, the Prætorian Mission, "Others" Mission, Gospel Mission, Kabul Mission, United Service Mission, etc.—a sad illustration of the way in which the Missionary Church of India is rent asunder by the ever-increasing number of "Free" missions.

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